

**THE IMPACT OF THE 1974 REVOLUTION ON RELIGIOUS FREEDOM IN
PORTUGAL (1974 – 2009)**

by

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submitted in accordance with the requirements

for the degree of

DOCTOR OF THEOLOGY

in the subject

CHURCH HISTORY

at the

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

SUPERVISOR: PROF M H MOGASHOA

OCTOBER 2015

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ABSTRACT

THE IMPACT OF THE 1974 REVOLUTION ON RELIGIOUS FREEDOM IN PORTUGAL (1974-2009)

Oppression and dictatorship were rife in this traditional Roman Catholic Portuguese state. The Portuguese Empire collapsed and the period immediately after the 1974 Revolution was marked by Communist influence. However, democracy rose with the *1976 Constitution* and its subsequent *Revisions* addressing various aspects of freedom but neglected to address religious freedom. Specific legislation pertaining to freedom of religion was only adopted more than three decades later in 2001. Consequently, the study intended to reveal the status of religious freedom in Portugal as a result of the 1974 Revolution. The hypothesis of this study is that there was resistance to the implementation of religious freedom in Portuguese legislation and society which continued until 2009, the point at which this study ends. Relevant legislation regarding religious freedom was the adoption of the *2001 Religious Freedom Act* followed by the signing of the *2004 Concordat*. Thus, this important question is relevant, was religious freedom respected in Portugal in 2009? Subsequently, this study tested and proved the hypothesis that religious freedom was not fully applied in Portuguese legislation and society up to the period under study. The adoption of the *2004 Concordat* proved that there was still confusion regarding the legal status of religious freedom in the country. The methodology used to collect the data for this study included numerous articles, letters, national and international legislation, anecdotal evidence as well as literature and in-depth interviews to collect oral historical information. This study is located in the theoretical framework of the transformative theory of religious freedom. The thesis revealed that even if the 1974 Revolution brought in freedom of religion the concept still lacks full implementation according to Articles 18, 19, and 20 of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (UDHR) and Articles 9, 10 and 11 of the *European Convention on Human Rights* (ECHR).

Key Words

Religious Freedom, Portuguese Constitution, Legislation, Human Rights, Secularism, Revolution.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my dear wife

Filomena Maria de Jesus Santos Correia Silva

who lovingly and sacrificially supported my efforts to pursue the
completion of this thesis enabling it to come to fruition

and to

my dear son

Roberto Paulo Santos Correia Silva

and to

my dear daughter

Liane Sara Silva Veloza

and my dear son-in-law

Abel Ricardo Belo Veloza

for their love and support throughout my study

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The process of writing this thesis required the help of several individuals to whom I am deeply grateful.

Filomena Silva my beloved wife who above all endured the pain of allowing me the privilege to study. Without her love and support it would have been difficult to complete this study.

Professor MH Mogashoa my supervisor for his wise supervision which is much appreciated as well as his encouragement and support.

Dr Ethel Pather's timeless dedication to the academic writing of the text and structure left a indelible mark on the academic quality of this thesis. Her contribution to improve my academic writing skills was significant because of her ability to call my attention to focus on detail required for the academic critical analysis and consequent historical narrative.

Dr Jason Fawcett's continued support as well as academic suggestions contributed immensely to this thesis.

Roberto Silva my dear son who apart from allowing his father time to study also contributed to the thesis by proofreading.

Mrs Esther Chipasula who helped with proof reading a chapter of the thesis providing academic writing suggestions.

My sincere gratitude is due to Armando Figueiredo and John Figueiredo for their continued financial support of my studies.

Rev Jorge Jacinto who sponsored my trips to Portugal from his Assembleia de Deus Igreja de Filadélfia to conduct the research for the study.

Sincere appreciation is due to Rev Teresa de Jesus my sister-in-law and the family as well as the Members of Monte Sião Igreja Cristã.

My sincere appreciation to my brother-in-law Ricardo Correia and sister-in-law Maria João Correia as well as my nephews Timóteo and Rúben who supported my trips to Portugal.

Thank you to Liane Silva my dear daughter who showed interest and support throughout the period of my study as well as my dear son-in-law Abel Veloza.

My gratitude to the Leadership and Members of NewSong Ministries in Benoni who supported me throughout the duration of my study.

I thank Deomélia da Silva the official translator of the Portuguese text into English that was used for this thesis.

My heartfelt appreciation to all participants whose contributions added authenticity to this study.

To God is the glory!

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

CHAPTER ONE

- 1867 The Decree-Law No. 44 129 of Thursday 28 December, 1961 (*Decreto-Lei n° 44 129 de Quinta-feira 28 de Dezembro de 1961*) was adopted as the first Portuguese Civil Code.
- 1910 Swift from Monarchy to Republic on 5 October, 1910.
- 1910 – 1926 First Republic.
- 1926 Military revolt on 28 May, 1926 ends the First Republic.
- 1926 – 1974 The Second Republic began as a consequence of the 28 May, 1926 military revolt and ends on 25 April, 1974 *coup d'état*.
- 1926 – 1932 António de Oliveira Salazar served as Minister of Finance.
- 1932 – 1933 Salazar's dictatorship began and gained political prestige.
- 1933 Salazar adopted a *Constitution* which supported his ideal of a corporative state and the New State (Estado Novo) began.
- 1933 – 1968 Salazar ruled a dictatorial regime as the President of the Cabinet.
- 1936 Tarrafal was built in Cape Verde as a political prison.
- 1940 The Concordat (*Concordata*) was signed between Portugal and the Holy See.
- 1940 The Missionary Agreement (*Acordo Missionário*) was signed between Portugal and the Holy See stating Roman Catholicism was the religion of the Portuguese nation which made other religions to be illegal.
- 1944 A new Civil Code (*Código Civil*) began to be written to transform Portuguese legislation in support of state corporatism and individual rights were banned.
- 1945 – 1969 The International Police of the Defence of the State (Polícia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado – PIDE) enforced Salazar's ideology as the secret political police and many pastors and believers suffered persecution, arrest and death for their non-Roman Catholic faith.

- 1948 The *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* was adopted by the United Nations' Assembly on 10 December at the Palais de Chaillot in Paris, France.
- 1952 Dom António Ferreira Gomes became the Roman Catholic Bishop of Porto and got involved with reformation movements at the Vatican.
- 1958 General Humberto Delgado was defeated in fraudulent Presidential elections.
- 1958 Dom António Ferreira Gomes defended the social doctrine of the Church and wrote a letter (*Pró-Memória: Carta a Salazar*) to Salazar.
- 1958 The Roman Catholic Bishop of Beira Dom Sebastião de Resende wrote a Pastoral letter challenging the Portuguese State on social conditions in the colony of Mozambique.
- 1959 Dom António Ferreira Gomes was forced into exile.
- 1960 The United Nations adopted *Resolution No. 1514 of the United Nations* concerning decolonization.
- 1961 – 1974 Colonial wars in Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique.
- 1962 – 1965 Second Vatican Council had its impact on the Portuguese Roman Catholic Church.
- 1963 – 2002 The Organization of African Unity (OAU) was established on 25 May with the objective to rid the continent of colonization and apartheid. This organization was transformed into the African Union (AU) in 2002.
- 1966 The Civil Code (*Código Civil*) was adopted.
- 1968 – 1974 Marcelo Caetano substituted Salazar as President of the Cabinet.
- 1969 Public Survey on religious freedom.
- 1970 Salazar dies on 27 July, 1970.
- 1971 On 13 May, 1971 Dom António Ribeiro substituted Cardinal Cerejeira as Patriarch of the Catholic Church.
- 1971 A *Religious Freedom Act* was adopted, (*Lei nº 3/71, de 16 de Agosto*).

- 1972 Common efforts by Catholic and Protestant scholars initiate a new translation of the *New Testament*.
- 1978 The *New Testament* was published (*Tradução Boa Nova Interconfessional em Português Corrente*).
- 1971 – 1983 A new Act concerning religious minister's equality treatment on social benefits is adopted Decree No. 291/74, of 23 April (*Portaria nº 291/74, 23 de Abril*). This became into force in 1983 by Regulatory Decree No. 583/83 of 31 January (*Decreto Regulamentar nº 5/83 de 31 de Janeiro*).
- 1973 136 Captains start meeting. The Movement of the Armed Forces (Movimento das Forças Armadas – MFA).
- 1974 General António de Spínola published *Portugal e o Futuro* on 22 February, 1974.

CHAPTER TWO

- 1974 The 25 April, 1974 *Coup d'état* in Portugal and the begin of the Revolution.
- 1974 – ... Third Republic begins and is now living on.
- 1974 – 1976 The Ongoing Revolutionary Process (Processo Revolucionário em Curso – PREC).
- 1974 Mário Soares challenges PCP leaders defending the multiparty democratic system since 1 May, 1974.
- The PCP attempted to gain control of the state with the aim to convert Portugal into a Marxist country but the MFA fulfils the promise of elections.
- 1975 First free and fair elections.
- The PCP's leader Álvaro Cunhal did not accept the electoral results and Portugal fall into successive crises in what is called the "Hot Summer of 1975".
- Catholics, Emigrants helped the establishment of the new democratic regime.

Portugal signed the Additional Protocol to the Concordat (*Protocolo Adicional à Concordata*).

The Assembly of God Youth Congress is held in Lisbon and the COPCON suspects it to be a contra-revolutionary movement.

Portugal decided to end her Imperial cycle and recognized the independence of her African colonies.

Portugal signed the Additional Protocol to the 1940 Concordat (*Protocolo Adicional à Concordata de 1940*).

General Ramalho Eanes resolved the Armed Forces problem in the 25 November, 1975 *coup d'état*.

1976 The new *1976 Constitution* was adopted on 2 April, 1976.

CHAPTER THREE

1977 On 28 March, 1977 Portugal applied to be a member of the European Economic Community (EEC).

The Portuguese democracy is labelled internationally as “The Third Wave”.

1978 The Assemblies of God mandate Pastor Joaquim Lucas da Silva to establish the Teen Challenge Portugal.

1982 The first *1982 Constitutional Revision* was adopted on 30 September, 1982.

The Council of Revolution is replaced by the Council of State and the Constitutional Court.

From 12 to 15 May, 1982 Pope John Paul II visits Portugal in support of the Catholics in the country.

1983 Decree No. 5/83 of 31 January, 1983 was promulgated granting religious ministers of other non-Roman Catholic confessions to be able to benefit from the National Welfare System.

The Central Block Government invited the International Monetary Fund to help in resolving the countries financial problems.

Decree-Law No. 425/83 of 6 December, 1983 was promulgated reviewing legislation concerning the register of religious entities at the National Register of Legal Persons.

1984 The Manna Church (Igreja Maná) was established in September 1984.

1985 The EEC signs the *Treaty of Adhesion* with Portugal which granted its membership.

CHAPTER FOUR

1986 On 1 January, 1986 Portugal becomes a member state of the EEC.

On 14 October, 1986 Act No. 46/86 (*Lei nº 46/86 de Outubro de 1986*) was adopted concerning the reform of the Educative System including teachers of Moral and Religion of non-Roman Catholic religious entities.

1987 The Convention of the Assemblies of God to organized the VI Pentecostal European Conference (PEK) in Lisbon from 22 to 26 of July, 1987.

1988 – 1992 Dissidence of Pastors of the Portuguese Assemblies of God.

1989 The second *1989 Constitutional Revision* was adopted.

1990 The Euro Fire Lisbon '90 was organised by Reinhard Bonnke and his Christ for All Nations (CfaN) evangelistic team in August 1990.

1992 The *Treaty of Maastricht* was signed on 7 February, 1992.

The third *1992 Constitutional Revision* was adopted.

On 27 October, 1992 Councillor Judge Dr José Dias Bravo presented a *Collective Petition* to the Portuguese National Parliament as President of the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance (AEP) and 11654 signatories asking for specific legislation on religious freedom. The *Collective Petition* was based on a report demonstrating the existence of discrimination practiced by the state towards the Evangelicals as compared with the Roman Catholic Church.

- 1993 Judge Dr José Dias Bravo became Councillor Judge of the Supreme Court of Justice.
- 1995 The *Collective Petition* of the AEP was voted by majority in the Portuguese National Parliament on 13 July, 1995.
- Minister of Justice Dr Vera Jardim created the Commission for the Reformation of the Religious Freedom Act (1971) (Comissão de Reforma da Lei da Liberdade Religiosa (1971) – CRLLR).
- 1996 There were 459 religious groups registered in the Portuguese Ministry of Justice.

CHAPTER FIVE

- 1997 The fourth *1997 Constitutional Revision* was adopted.
- 1998 The Project of Law of a new *Religious Freedom Act* was completed by the Commission for the Reformation of the Religious Freedom Act (1971) (Comissão de Reforma da Lei da Liberdade Religiosa (1971) – CRLLR).
- 1999 Dr Vera Jardim and Councillor Judge Dr Sousa Brito presented the Project of Law of a new Religious Freedom Act for discussion at National Parliament.
- 2000 The new *Religious Freedom Act* was approved.
- 2001 The fifth *2001 Constitutional Revision* was adopted.
- The *2001 Religious Freedom Act* was promulgated.
- Secret negotiations began between the Portuguese state and the Vatican concerning the new *Concordat*.
- 2002 The unfortunate speech by the Minister of Foreign Affairs Martins da Cruz on the farewell ceremony of the Apostolic Nuncio in Lisbon reinforcing the status of the Roman Catholic Church in Portugal.
- 2003 Councillor Judge Dr José Dias Bravo dies in Lisbon on 5 November, 2003.
- 2004 The sixth *2004 Constitutional Revision* was adopted.

The *2004 Concordat* was signed between Portugal and the Vatican state to replace the *1940 Concordat*.

2005 The seventh *2005 Constitutional Revision* was adopted.

2009 In September 2009, the Portuguese Government carried out the necessary regulations to implement the *Religious Freedom Act 2001* and amendments to the *2004 Concordat*.

2009 Human Rights Report: Portugal, by the U.S. Department of State Diplomacy in Action

Relatório Internacional sobre Liberdade Religiosa PORTUGAL 2009

The Division of Democracy, Human Rights and Work of the Department of State of the United States published a Report on 13 September 2011 entitled International Report on Religious Freedom – Portugal (*Relatório Internacional sobre Liberdade Religiosa – Portugal*)

LIST OF ACRONYMS

AAP	– Portuguese Atheist Association (Associação Ateísta Portuguesa).
ACI	– International Support Aid (Apoio Cristão Internacional).
ACIDI	– High Commission for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue (Alto Comissariado para a Imigração e Diálogo Intercultural).
ACRAS	– Christian Association of Social Action and Reintegration (Associação Cristã de Reinserção e Apoio Social).
AEP	– Portuguese Evangelical Alliance (Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa).
AoG	– Portuguese Assembly of God.
AD	– Assembly of God (Assembleia de Deus).
AU	– African Union
CAPU	– Portuguese Assemblies of God Publishing House (Casa Publicadora das Assembleias de Deus).
CCVA	– Abundant Life Christian Centre (Centro Cristão Vida Abundante).
CDS	– Social Democratic Centre (Centro Democrático Social).
CEP	– Portuguese Episcopal Conference (Conferência Episcopal Portuguesa).
CfaN	– Christ for all Nations.
CICDR	– Commission for Equality Against Racial Discrimination (Comissão para a Igualdade e Contra a Discriminação Racial).
CIDSE	– International Co-operation for Development and Solidarity.
CIL	– Islamic Community of Lisbon (Comunidade Islâmica de Lisboa).
CIP	– Portuguese Inter-Ecclesiastical Commission (Comissão Intereclesiástica Portuguesa).
CLC	– Christian Literatura International.
Comintern	– The Communist International.
COPCON	– Continental Operational Commando (Comando Operacional do Continente).
COPIC	– Portuguese Council of Christian Churches (Conselho Português de Igrejas Cristãs).
CPLP	– Community of Countries of Portuguese Language (Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa).
CRLLR	– Commission for the Reform of the Religious Freedom Act (Comissão de Reforma da Lei de Liberdade Religiosa).

ECM	– European Christian Mission.
ECHR	– European Court of Human Rights.
EEA	– European Evangelical Alliance.
EEC	– European Economic Community.
EMU	– European Economic and Monetary Union.
EPF	– European Pentecostal Fellowship.
EU	– European Union.
GA Res	– United Nations’ Resolution.
GBU	– University Bible Group (Grupo Bíblico Universitário).
IBP	– Portuguese Bible Institute (Instituto Bíblico Português).
ICC	– International Criminal Court.
ICI	– International Correspondence Institute (Instituto de Correspondência Internacional).
ICMAV	– Fountain of Living Waters Christian Church (Igreja Cristã Manancial de Águas Vivas).
INE	– National Statistic Institute (Instituto Nacional de Estatística).
IPSS	– Particular Institute of Social Solidarity (Instituto Particular de Solidariedade Social).
IRS	– Internal Revenue Service.
IURD	– Universal Church of the Kingdom of God (Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus).
JSN	– Junta of National Salvation (Junta de Salvação Nacional).
MEIBAD	– Mount Hope Bible Institute of Portugal (Instituto Bíblico de Portugal Monte Esperança).
MFA	– Movement of the Armed Forces (Movimento das Forças Armadas).
OAU	– Organization of African Unity.
PAIGC	– African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde (Partido Africano para a Independência de Guiné e Cabo Verde).
PALOP	– African Countries of Portuguese Language (Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa).
PCP	– Portuguese Communist Party (Partido Comunista Português).
P/c	– Pentecostal/charismatic.
PEK	– Pentecostal European Conference.

PEF	– Pentecostal European Fellowship.
PIDE	– International Police for the Defense of the State (Polícia Internacional de Defesa do Estado).
PIDE/DGS	– International Police for the Defense of the State / Department of General Security (Polícia Internacional de Defesa do Estado / Direcção Geral de Segurança).
POP	– Public Opinion Portal (Portal de Opinião Pública).
PPD	– Democratic Popular Party (Partido Popular Democrático).
PS	– Socialist Party (Partido Socialista).
PREC	– Ongoing Revolutionary Process (Processo Revolucionário em Curso).
RCC	– Catholic Charismatic Renewal (Renovamento Carismático Católico).
RTP	– Portuguese National Television (Rádio Televisão Portuguesa).
SARFAFS	– Religious Support Service to the Armed Forces and of Security (Ordinariato Castrense, Serviço de Assistência Religiosa das Forças Armadas e de Segurança).
SEA	– Single European Act.
UCP	– Portuguese Catholic University (Universidade Católica Portuguesa).
UCKG	– Universal Church of the Kingdom of God.
UDHR	– Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
UN	– United Nations.
UNFPA	– United Nations Population Fund.
USA	– United States of America.
USSR	– Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.
WCC	– World Council of Churches.
WEA	– World Evangelical Alliance.

INTRODUCTION

1. Introduction and background

This study examines the transformation process leading to religious freedom initiated by the 1974 *coup d'état* and the consequent Revolution involving the citizens who supported the *coup d'état* in Portugal. From a monolithic religious nation in which only Roman Catholicism was legally permitted by the *1933 Constitution* and protected by the *1940 Concordat* Portugal became increasingly secular and open to religious proliferation. Prior to 1974, Portugal was a Roman Catholic country where every citizen was expected to follow Roman Catholicism. Any citizen that was not a practicing Roman Catholic was considered to be either a Communist or dissenting opposition to the collective state. The collective state meant that the individual had no rights since the state had all the rights which were enshrined in the *1933 Constitution*.

The colonial wars and international pressure demonstrated that there was the necessity to change the dictatorship and the strangle hold of some sectors of the Roman Catholic Church which were synonymous with the state. The lack of liberty and poverty led thousands of Portuguese to find refuge in other countries while in the colonies there was an increase of an independent spirit. In light of the above discussion the state needed urgent reform. The military realized this urgency to reform the country as well as the inability of the regime to engage in those reforms and subsequently overthrew the Government with the aim to install a democratic Government. The period post 1974 leading up to the *2001 Religious Freedom Act* will be scrutinized in depth. However, the period from 2001 to 2009 continued developments associated with religious freedom in the country which will be addressed in this thesis as well. The reason for focusing on this historical period from 1974 to 2009 is to follow the historical trend as identified in literature consulted for this study.

2. Rationale for this study

The rationale for this study originated from a survey that was conducted for my Master's thesis. The period from 1974 to 2009 is a very important period for me as a non-Roman Catholic Portuguese citizen who left the country in 1998, while religious freedom was in the process of being legislated. This period was significant for the majority of the non-Roman Catholic Portuguese citizens and in my opinion as a passionate believer in

religious freedom; I was prompted to pursue this study. Therefore, the reason for this study being conducted was because of the necessity to provide historiography and a historical framework for freedom of religion in Portugal. Motivation to conduct this study also stemmed from my personal experience as an Evangelical pastor since 1984 because of the struggle in dealing with public servants as well as the difficulties to minister to the sick in hospitals and to prisons inmates, because of my religious persuasion. In addition, my pastoral duties included that of establishing a new church which was not Roman Catholic, in other words an autonomous denomination. In 1989 when I attempted to establish a new church I was faced with legal constraints which prevented me from carrying out my duties as pastor.

3. Problem statement

The problem that this study investigates is that religious freedom was not specifically addressed in Portuguese legislation in the first years of democracy which only happened more than three decades later in 2001.

4. Research questions

The main research question that this study will attempt to answer is;

What was the impact of the 1974 Revolution on religious freedom in Portugal?

Sub questions that will assist with answering the main question are as follows:

Why was it necessary for a *coup d'état* and subsequent Revolution to take place in order for Portugal to gain religious freedom?

How did the military and decolonisation contribute towards the recognition of freedom of religion?

What prompted the state to consider the granting of religious freedom?

Why did it take three decades for legislation recognising the freedom of religion to be adopted?

5. Aim and objectives of this study

The aim of this study was to investigate the impact that the 1974 *coup d'état* and Revolution had on religious freedom in Portugal.

The objectives in order to achieve the aim of the study are as follows:

To source relevant literature pertaining to the historical period from 1974 to 2009 in Portugal related to religious freedom;

To collect oral historical data from important individuals who played a role in the attainment of religious freedom;

To conduct the analysis of specific documents related to religious freedom;

To contribute to historical knowledge, by presenting an interpretative narrative of all historical events, which pertain to religious freedom in the period from 1974 to 2009.

This study intends to understand the impact and the changes resulting from the 1974 Revolution on the State's policy towards the Roman Catholic Church compared with its policy towards other religious groups as well as to investigate the responses of the various religious groups towards the new legal framework in the country since the 1974 Revolution.

6. Hypothesis

The hypothesis for this study is that the 1974 Revolution impacted legal and social transformation regarding freedom of religion, expression and association (Articles 18, 19, and 20 of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*) which culminated in the *2001 Religious Freedom Act* but not entirely as religious minorities had expected. The reason why the impact of the 1974 Revolution was not entirely what religious minorities had expected is because post 2001 secret negotiations by the state with the Roman Catholic Church led to the signing of the *2004 Concordat* which caused confusion and incredulity among non-Roman Catholic minorities regarding the true significance of the *2001 Religious Freedom Act*.

The hypothesis concerning the delay of the promulgation of the *2001 Religious Freedom Act* is that the democratic state had two difficulties: The first was that the democratic state did not want to make the political mistakes which Portugal had made at the beginning of the twentieth century against the Roman Catholic Church; the second was that the democratic state needed the support of the Roman Catholic Church for the success of the new democratic regime against the Communist threat.

7. Overview of the research

Research was conducted to include a brief historical framework regarding liberty in Portugal, specifically concerned with human rights related to religion from 1974 to 2009. The 1974 *coup d'état* and the consequent Revolution was addressed and its initial promise on liberty and the related development of the legal framework relevant for this study. Therefore, investigation was conducted to gather information regarding the impact of the 1974 Revolution on the State's policy towards freedom of religion, freedom of expression and freedom of association as found in international law to which Portugal is a signatory. The first being the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*¹ Articles 18, 19 and 20,

18 – Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance. 19 – Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression... 20 – 1. Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association...²

The other, the *European Convention on Human Rights*³ Articles 9, 10 and 11,

9 – 1. Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion;... 2. Freedom to manifest one's religion or beliefs... 10 – 1. Everyone has the right to freedom of expression... 11 – 1. Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and to freedom of association with others...⁴

8. Methodology

There is a paucity of historical literature pertaining to the period 1974 to 2009 in Portugal; however, there are numerous articles, letters, anecdotal evidence as well as literature written about certain aspects of this particular period under study. In addition, information from oral history data in the form of interviews was collected and used for historiography to substantiate the claims made in this thesis. There were thirty three participants and nineteen telephonic interviews in total (See Interviews Conducted). Of the thirty two participants fifteen participated in face-to-face interviews, while the others responded to a qualitative questionnaire via email and the last three interviews were conducted telephonically. Among the individuals interviewed were significant

1 Mtshaulana, Patrick Mzolisi, John Gugard, and Neville Botha, *Documents on International Law: Handbook for Law Students and Constitutional Lawyers*, (Juta & Co, Ltd, Kenwyn. South Africa. 1996), pp. 172-176.

2 Ibid., pp. 172-176.

3 *European Convention on Human Rights*, (Legislation: European Court of Human Rights, Council of Europe, Strasbourg, [France]. www.echr.coe.int. 1 November, 1998. <http://www.echr.coe.int/>. Accessed on 30 September, 2013), pp. 10-12.

4 Ibid., pp. 10-12.

participants in the process of drafting the *2001 Religious Freedom Act* in Portugal. Despite having agreed to participate in this study five individuals did not return the qualitative questionnaire. Dr José Manuel Durão Barroso, President of the European Commission and ex-Portuguese Prime-minister who signed the *2004 Concordat* was requested to be interviewed but refused to be interviewed (See Appendix 1).

A thematic analysis of the data collected for this thesis was not conducted; however, reference will be made to interviews in order to substantiate arguments as well as statements made throughout the thesis. Where necessary, the actual words of the interviewee will be used. With regard to quotations used in the text of the thesis it is important to note that the interviews were translated from Portuguese into English and consequently some meaning may have been lost.

9. Layout of the thesis

The layout of this thesis is chronological as presented in the title of each chapter, which was drawn from literature pertaining to the study.

Chapter one provides the historical framework for the lack of religious liberty in Portuguese history from 1940 to 1974 and covers the period from the *1940 Concordat* although mention is made of some prior relevant events. The significance of chapter one is that it places the 1974 Revolution in historical context as a precursor to religious freedom in Portugal. Despite this thesis being located within the scope of the history of Christianity in Portugal there are certain legal aspects related to freedom of religion that are fundamental to this thesis.

Chapter two is entitled, The Period of Redefinition of the Regime (1974-1976), the 1974 Revolution, the ‘PREC’, the *1976 Constitution* and Religious Proliferation, was chosen from literature consulted for this study. In this chapter the redefinition of the regime will be examined, firstly the ‘Order System Operation’ (Operação Fim-Regime) and the 1974 Revolution will be discussed; thereafter the *1976 Constitution* and religious freedom will be investigated. Subsequently, social transformation will be analysed to ascertain its significance for religious proliferation.

The Transitional Phase for Democratic Normalization (1976-1985), the 1982 Constitutional Revision and the European Economic Community is the title given to chapter three, once again drawn from literature pertaining to this study. In chapter three,

The Transitional Phase for Democratic Normalization (1976-1985), as well as the motivation for the *1982 Constitutional Revision* along with the process for preparation of the country to join the European Economic Community (EEC) will be addressed. Intense democratic transformation gave rise to social and economic development. However, Portugal faced challenges regarding her policies and legislation related to religious freedom.

Chapter four entitled The Conservative Modernization Period (1986-1997), (The 1989 and 1992 Constitutional Revisions), corresponds with the fourth historical phase and presents a discourse on the conservative modernisation period from 1986 to 1997 and introduces the Portuguese EEC membership. The Portuguese Constitution was revised in 1989 and subsequently in 1992 in order to comply with the requirements of the *Treaty of Maastricht* which converted the EEC into the European Union (EU) and consequently Portugal's integration into the EU.

The title of chapter five, The Liberalization Modernization Period (1997-2009), (The *1997 and 2001 Constitutional Revisions*), was chosen from the relevant literature pertaining to the historical period under study. Chapter Five focuses on the liberalizing modernization period from 1997 to 2009 and covers the *Constitutional Revisions of 1997 and 2001* and describes the secularism adopted by Portugal. In addition, this chapter will address how the principle of religious freedom became specific legislation. Besides the *2001 Religious Freedom Act* the *2004 Concordat* is addressed in this chapter.

The entire study was conducted in order to demonstrate how the 1974 Revolution impacted the religious freedom in Portugal from 1974 to 2009.

CHAPTER 1

BRIEF HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK

ON THE LACK OF RELIGIOUS

LIBERTY IN PORTUGUESE

HISTORY (1940-1974)

As an introductory description this chapter serves to understand the Portuguese historical framework as a traditionally Roman Catholic nation as well as how changes regarding freedom of religion were introduced. This discussion includes the history of Portuguese legal transformation introduced by the Second Republic that was in power from 1926, however, the period 1940 to 1974 is significant for this study. Therefore, chapter one presents a brief historical overview of the New State (Estado Novo), the decline of the New State (Estado Novo), and the future of Portugal as predicted by General António de Spínola in his book “Portugal and the Future” (*Portugal e o Futuro*), published in February 1974. His book was referred to as “the prophetic voice” because his prophecies regarding the political status of the country became a reality on 25 April of the same year.

1.1 A BRIEF HISTORIAL OVERVIEW OF THE NEW STATE (ESTADO NOVO) CONCERNING RELIGION

The Second Republic came into being as a result of the military revolt of 28 May, 1926, which led António de Oliveira Salazar into the centre of the Portuguese political arena, first as Minister of Finance and subsequently as Prime Minister. Salazar ordered a new *Constitution* for Portugal known as 1933 Constitution (*Constituição de 1933*),⁵ which was published on 11 April, 1933. He also established the regime which he called Estado Novo (New State), signed a “Concordat” (*Concordata*) and the Missionary Agreement

⁵ *Portuguese Constitution of 1911*, (Legislation: [Http://www.O Portal da História - A Constituição de 1911_files](http://www.O Portal da História - A Constituição de 1911_files). Accessed on 13 February, 2013).

(*Acordo Missionário*) with the “Holy See” (the Vatican) in 1940. Subsequently, in 1944 he initiated the process of writing a new Civil Code which was published in 1966.

1.1.1 THE ALLIANCE BETWEEN SALAZAR AND CARDINAL CEREJEIRA

The role of the Roman Catholic Church on the mentorship and as a support base of the Estado Novo became inevitable with Salazar in power. Salazar was a Roman Catholic having as a good friend and adviser Cardinal Cerejeira. Both were determined to guide Portugal back to the “oldest of existing fascisms ... [and] provided the bulk of fascist ideology after 1930”,⁶ as informed by Lawrence S. Graham and Harry M. Makler in their *Contemporary Portugal: the Revolution and Its Antecedents*. Known as “Lusitanian Integrity” (Integralismo Lusitano), Salazar’s ideology was the forerunner to the Estado Novo.

Salazar was a close friend to Cardinal Manuel Gonçalves Cerejeira since both had been Professors at the University of Coimbra. Cerejeira’s doctoral thesis *O Renascimento em Portugal Clenardo em a tradução das suas principais cartas*⁷ (loosely translated as; The Portuguese Renaissance according to Clenardo’s most important letters’ translation) had an extraordinary impact on Roman Catholic fervour as informed by Luís Salgado de Matos’ article entitled *Cardeal Cerejeira: universitário, militante, místico*⁸ (Cardinal Cerejeira: the academic, militant, and mystic). De Matos claims,

It is certain that Salazar and the Cardinal had a strong friendship since Salazar dined with Cerejeira on all his birthdays. The evidence of this friendship will manifest in the twilight years of Salazar’s life when he asserted that *we were like each other’s conscience* (loose translation).⁹

Cerejeira became the Chief of the Portuguese Roman Catholic Church and used the media as principal instruments to assert his religious power and presence. Cerejeira used

6 Graham, Lawrence S. and Harry M. Makler, Ed., *Contemporary Portugal: The Revolution and Its Antecedents*, (University of Texas Press, Austin, USA. 1979), p. 7.

7 Cerejeira, Manuel Gonçalves, *O Renascimento em Portugal Clenardo em a tradução das suas principais cartas*, (Article: Imprensa da Universidade, Coimbra. [Portugal]), p. 2 Vols. 1917-1918. Article: *Análise Social* vol. XXXVI (160), 2001. Revista do Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade de Lisboa (ICS). Lisboa, Portugal. <http://analisesocial.ics.ul.pt/>. Accessed on 16 October, 2013), p. 803.

8 De Matos, Luís Salgado, *Cardeal Cerejeira: universitário, militante, místico*, (Article: *Análise Social* vol. XXXVI (160), 2001. Revista do Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade de Lisboa (ICS). Lisboa, Portugal. <http://analisesocial.ics.ul.pt/>. Accessed on 21 October, 2013), p. 810.

9 Ibid.

Roman Catholic media like the daily News (*Novidades*)¹⁰ and the Renaissance Radio (Rádio Renascença) to his benefit. Apart from his prestige within the Roman Curia and the Portuguese organization known as the Catholic Action (Acção Católica), Cerejeira attained the monopoly of the relations with the “New State” (Estado Novo) in religious matters. His goal as the Patriarch of Lisbon had the objective of rebuilding the Roman Catholic ruins left by the First Republic’s annihilation of the previous privileges and structures belonging to the Roman Catholic Church. This annihilation of Roman Catholic privileges and structures was perceived by Cerejeira as “The separation enforced by Jacobin secularism”,¹¹ which de Matos pointed out. His program was to re-Christianize Portugal back to its traditional Roman Catholicism. The program has two emphases, the first was to restructure the Roman Catholic Church, and the other, was to stabilize relations between Church and State.¹²

Cerejeira’s priority was to encourage the clergy to again occupy a dignified position in society as opposed to the days of the First Republic. This was the concretization of the ecclesiology inherited from the¹³ “Council of Trent and from the First Vatican Council”¹⁴ as Salgado has pointed out. However, Cerejeira mobilised the Roman Catholic members through his “Portuguese Catholic Action” (Acção Católica Portuguesa), an organization to promote fundamental Roman Catholicism which he founded and directed from 1933. This Roman Catholic organization of lay Roman Catholics had more than one hundred thousand members affiliated by 1956.¹⁵ Through this organization Cerejeira contributed to the creation of a modern laity, operating the restoration of the traditional life of the Portuguese Roman Catholic Church including in the¹⁶ “periphery”¹⁷ of the urban areas (Salgado: 2001).

10 Ibid., p. 812. (The Centro Católico was deactivated in 1933 by Salazar’s order).

11 Ibid., pp. 811-812.

12 Ibid.

13 Original text in Portuguese: “... herdada dos Concílios de Trento e Vaticano I”.

14 De Matos, Luís Salgado, *Cardeal Cerejeira: universitário, militante, místico*, Op. cit., p. 814.

15 Ibid.

16 Original text in Portuguese: “... periferia”.

17 De Matos, Luís Salgado, *Cardeal Cerejeira: universitário, militante, místico*, Op. cit., p. 814.

1.1.2 A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF THE NEW STATE (ESTADO NOVO)

It is necessary to characterize Salazar's regime in order to gain a clear understanding of the New State. *Fascism and resistance in Portugal: Communists, liberals and military dissidents in the opposition to Salazar, 1941-1974* written by D. L. Raby, describes the regime as a "subtle and all-pervasive character of repression".¹⁸ Salazar suppressed all political parties as well as free trade unions, while using systematic censorship and political police, to create an extremely "Repressive atmosphere and a comprehensive system of control over the population".¹⁹

The "Estado Novo" (New State) demanded order and respect through a "terrifying system" with the intent that people should obey the leader of the Government. Many suffered as victims of the New State's regime as did Dr Mário Soares,²⁰ which he describes in his writings entitled *Portugal's Struggle for Liberty*. In his opinion Salazar had two methods of governing that were "The police and ... censorship ... which he directed [himself]".²¹ Soares explains, "An anonymous denunciation was enough to put you inside, with no legal time-limit".²² Soares compared Salazar's regime with the Nazi, "Salazar's regime was ... one and the same with Nazi version ... [it] introduce[d] certain elements of the Nazi mystique, with the worship of uniforms, the vast parades, the hymns and the saluting".²³ The concentration camp in "Tarrafal"²⁴ built in 1936 on the desolate island of Santiago in Cape Verde illustrates the cruelty of the regime. Many political dissidents died and others were left there forgotten for decades, until they died without medical support or basic hygiene conditions.²⁵ In Portugal there were no police to protect the citizen; the police existed to protect the State. Under such terror, most citizens did not

18 Raby, D. L., *Fascism and resistance in Portugal: Communists, liberals and military dissidents in the opposition to Salazar, 1941-1974*, (Manchester University Press, Manchester, Great Britain. 1988), p. 3.

19 Ibid.

20 Mário Soares became the President of the Republic some years after the Revolution.

21 Soares, Mário, *Portugal's Struggle for Liberty*, (George Allen & Unwin Ltd, Ruskin House, Museum Street, London, Great Britain. 1975), pp. 46-47.

22 Ibid., pp. 46-47.

23 Ibid., p. 21.

24 Ibid., p. 48.

25 Ibid.

dare to face the International Police for the Defence of the State (Policia Internacional de Defesa do Estado – PIDE).²⁶

Salazar was against any democratic thoughts or religious feelings and freedoms that did not match his Roman Catholic faith. R. A. H. Robinson confirms this in *Contemporary Portugal: a history* and highlights Salazar's words, "We are anti-parliamentarians, anti-democrats, anti-liberals... We are opposed to all forms of internationalism, communism, socialism, syndicalism... We are against class warfare, irreligion and disloyalty to one's country ... We are antagonistic to all the great heresies of today".²⁷ These utterances are evident in the four legislation pillars of the New State.

The first legislation pillar was the new *Constituição de 1933*, 11 April, (Constitution of 1933),²⁸ which defined the New State as a Corporative State (Estado Corporativo).²⁹ The second legal document was the Concordat (*Concordata*) signed on 7 May, 1940, through which Portugal solidified relations with the Holy See.³⁰ According to Robinson this international agreement was intended "to safeguard Portuguese missionary rights overseas".³¹ However, as he argued that the Roman Catholic Church viewed the document as the formal recognition of "its juridical personality and the freedom of the [Roman Catholic] clergy to obey and communicate with the Pope without any state...interference (such had existed under the monarchy and the First Republic)".³² The third legal document was the Missionary Agreement (*Acordo Missionário*)³³ also signed on 7 May, 1940, which is particularly relevant for this thesis as it reinstated the Roman Catholic activities into the National Budget to be paid by the State. As per Articles 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14 the Roman Catholic Church's enterprises and her personnel would be³⁴ "...subsidized according to the needs by the Government of Metropolis and of the

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Robinson, R. A. H., *Contemporary Portugal: a history*, (George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 40 Museum Street, WCIA ILU, London, Great Britain. 1979), p. 52.

²⁸ Portuguese Constitution of 1911, Op. cit.

²⁹ Soares, Mário, *Portugal's Struggle for Liberty*, Op. cit., p. 21.

³⁰ Maglione, L. Card., Eduardo Augusto Marques, Mário de Figueiredo, and Vasco Francisco Caetano de Quevedo, *Inter Sanctam Sedem et Rempublicam Lusitanam Sollemnes Conventiones* (AAS 32 (1940) 218-233), *Concordata Entre a Santa Sé e a República Portuguesa*, (Legislation: <http://www.vatican.va/>. Accessed on 14 October, 2013).

³¹ Robinson, R. A. H., *Contemporary Portugal: a history*, Op. cit., p. 62.

³² Ibid.

³³ Maglione, L. Card., et al, *Inter Sanctam Sedem et Rempublicam Lusitanam Sollemnes Conventiones* (AAS 32 (1940) 235-244), *Acordo Missionário Entre a Santa Sé e a República Portuguesa*, Op. cit.

³⁴ Original text in Portuguese: "Subsidiadas segundo a necessidade pelo Governo da Metrópole e pelo Governo da respectiva colónia".

Government of the respective colony”.³⁵ The fourth legal document was the Civil Code of 1966 (*Código Civil de 1966*) that aimed at a entrenching more stringent rules on civil society behaviour. Despite Salazar’s endeavours to perpetuate his ideology, the decline of the New State began.

1.2 THE DECLINE OF THE NEW STATE (ESTADO NOVO)

The New State began to decline under the pressure posed by the international community as well as the internal opposition from various sources including from Roman Catholic and Protestant religious backgrounds. Salazar’s death let Caetano trying to reshape the New State under the policy of Evolution in Continuity and he consequently adopted religious freedom.

1.2.1 GENERAL OPPOSITION TO THE NEW STATE

Although Salazar’s intention was to maintain his policies political pressure began to mount after the Second World War. The United Nations (UN) was founded in 1945 with the purpose of “maintaining international peace and security, developing friendly relations among nations and promoting social progress, better living standards and human rights”.³⁶ Portugal was admitted as a member state on 14 December, 1955,³⁷ but on 14 December, 1960 the United Nations adopted *Resolution 1514 (XV)* which stated, “The General Assembly ... solemnly proclaims the necessity of bringing to a speed and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestation”. This was the first international set back on Portuguese colonial policy which resulted in colonial wars.

The Portuguese Colonial Wars in Goa and the other Portuguese colonies in India as well as Wars in Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique were debilitating to Portugal’s international stand. Two political factors prevented the integration of Portugal in the process of reunifying Europe as mentioned by Isabel Maria Freitas Valente and João Rui Pita in *Portugal e a Europa: Uma História Contada Através dos Selos Portugueses*. One

35 Maglione, L. Card., et al, *Inter Sanctam Sedem et Rempublicam Lusitanam Sollemnes Conventiones* (AAS 32 (1940) 235-244), *Acordo Missionário Entre a Santa Sé e a República Portuguesa*, Op. cit.

36 [?], *UN at a Glance*, (United Nations, UN Headquarters, First Avenue at 46th Street, New York, NY 10017, USA. <http://www.un.org/>. Accessed on 15 November, 2013).

37 [?], *Portugal at the United Nations*, (Information: United Nations, UN Headquarters, New York, USA). <http://www.un.int/>. Accessed on 15 November, 2013).

of the political factors was the³⁸ “dictatorship”³⁹ nature of the Portuguese regime and the other was Salazar's⁴⁰ “tenacious resistance to decolonization”.⁴¹

Internal pressure had already been exerted on Salazar's regime as early as the 1950s; however, it was not intense. By the 1950s younger Roman Catholic priests increasingly encouraged society to tolerate the existence and presence of the “Protestants” in their neighbourhoods. By this attitude the priests opposed “the regime's repressive policies”⁴² in the social and political spheres, as Robinson informs. Roman Catholic activists began “to feel more deeply disillusion[ned] with the social achievements of the regime”⁴³ and consequently supported General Humberto Delgado⁴⁴ as candidate to the presidential elections in 1958. Soares saw the result of the involvement of Roman Catholics in the Delgado's campaign as a positive and encouraging move. Particularly individuals such as Dom António Ferreira Gomes Bishop of Porto and intellectuals such as Lino Neto and António Alçada Baptista openly opposed the regime as Soares points out,

One positive result of Delgado's campaign had been to cause profound differences among the [Roman] Catholics ... In 1958 ... Dom António Ferreira Gomes ... [wrote] a letter to Salazar. In it he spoke for the first time of the urgent necessity to ‘disengage’ the Church from a regime he regarded as anti-Christian. Notably, he denounced the mumbo-jumbo of corporativism.⁴⁵

This is corroborated by Mário Bacalhau in an article entitled *Transition of the Political System and Political Attitudes in Portugal* in which he states that “from 1958 [Roman] Catholic progressives developed and supported opposition movements to the regime, making use of their grassroots organizations, which enjoyed freedom of assembly”.⁴⁶ According to Raby,

The emergence of a militant [Roman] Catholic left also dates from this period, illustrated by the Sé conspiracy and the prominence of [Roman] Catholic activists in

38 Original text in Portuguese: “ditatorial”.

39 Valente, Isabel Maria Freitas and João Rui Pita, *Portugal e a Europa: Uma História Contada Através dos Selos Portugueses*, (Dissertation. Universidade Fernando Pessoa. Porto. [Portugal]. 2010), p. 5.

40 Original text in Portuguese: “a resistência tenaz [de Salazar] à descolonização”.

41 Valente, Isabel Maria Freitas and João Rui Pita, *Portugal e a Europa: Uma História Contada Através dos Selos Portugueses*, Op. cit., p. 5.

42 Robinson, R. A. H., *Contemporary Portugal: a history*, Op. cit., p. 64.

43 Ibid.

44 Pinto, Dora Marisa Gomes, *Ensaio Sobre a Evolução Política do Estado Novo*, (Dissertation: Universidade Fernando Pessoa, Porto. [Portugal]. 2010), p. 67.

45 Soares, Mário, *Portugal's Struggle for Liberty*, Op. cit., p. 114.

46 Bacalhau, Mário, *Transition of the Political System and Political Attitudes in Portugal*, (Article: International Journal of Public Opinion Research Vol. 2 No. 2 0954—2892/90.

Delgado's campaign... [Furthermore], in July 1959 there was a joint meeting in Lisbon of students and workers' representatives under the [Roman] Catholic auspices.⁴⁷

As Robinson stated Dom António Ferreira Gomes opposed the regime in a letter to Salazar dated 13 July, 1958:

The best [Roman] Catholics were becoming alienated from the church because of the Government's demands for united [Roman] Catholic support against communism, especially when the regime's attitude to social problems seemed increasingly out of harmony with Papal doctrines.⁴⁸

Consequently, the Bishop of Porto was denied re-entry to the country in 1958 after a trip he made abroad. He remained in exile in the Vatican City for ten years and only returned after Salazar's death. The period between 1958 and 1962 was the most difficult crisis faced by the New State regime.⁴⁹ In addition, growing signs of Roman Catholic discontent was evident in an open letter opposing the Salazar regime. This letter was written and signed by "Fifty [Roman] Catholics ... include[ing] half a dozen priests",⁵⁰ according to Soares. This letter criticized the brutality of the secret police (PIDE) demanding an impartial enquiry to investigate its conduct. Nevertheless, Salazar reacted sending the PIDE to castigate the signatories and suppress that opposition.

Another international relevant event that added to the pressure on Salazar's regime was the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965). Europe and the Western World were under profound transformation after the Second World War. Therefore, when 76 year old Angelo Roncolli became Pope John XXIII he pondered upon "the problems facing the world and the Church"⁵¹ and consequently called for a Council on 25 January, 1959 as Fr. Francis Jamieson states in his article entitled *Vatican II – Currents of Renewal before Vatican II*. Subsequently, Pope Paul VI convened the Second Vatican Council on 11 October, 1962 "as a means of spiritual renewal for the church and as an occasion for Christians

47 Raby, D. L., *Fascism and resistance in Portugal: Communists, liberals and military dissidents in the opposition to Salazar, 1941-1974*, Op. cit., pp. 134-135.

48 Robinson, R. A. H., *Contemporary Portugal: a history*, Op. cit., p. 64.

49 Important note: The first was the Delgado's campaign to run for President in May and June 1958. The second was the Roman Catholic conspiracy known as "Cathedral conspiracy" (*Revolta da Sé*) in March 1959, as mentioned by Raby. The third was the escapes of some communist from Salazar's political imprisonment – including the Henrique Galvão episode – from January 1959 to 1960. The fourth were the hijacking of the liner Santa Maria in January of 1961. The fifth was the outburst of the colonial war in Angola in 1961. The sixth was the hijacking of a TAP airplane in November 1961. The seventh was the loss of the Portuguese colonial territories Goa, Damão and Diu to India in December 1961. And the eighth was the revolt of students and workers in Beja in January 1962.

50 Soares, Mário, *Portugal's Struggle for Liberty*, Op. cit., p. 114.

51 Jamieson, Fr. Francis, *Vatican II – Currents of Renewal before Vatican II*, (Information: Holy Spirit Interactive, <http://www.holyspiritinteractive.net/>. Accessed on 24 May, 2015).

separated from Rome to join in search for reunion”.⁵² Walter M. Abbott, (Ed.) listed three important documents in *The Message and Meaning of the Ecumenical Council: The Documents of Vatican II*. These are, the *Catholic Principles on Ecumenism*,⁵³ the *Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions*,⁵⁴ and, the *Declaration on Religious Freedom*.⁵⁵ Commenting on the deliberations of the Second Vatican Council in *The Catholic Church in World Politics* Eric O. Hanson states:

The deliberations of the Vatican II remain highly suspect to Lefebvre and his followers... [Lefebvre and his group] refuse ... to follow Rome of neo-modernist and neo-Protestant tendencies which clearly manifest themselves in the Second Vatican Council and after the Council in all the reforms which issued from it.⁵⁶

Subsequent to the Second Vatican Council the Portuguese Roman Catholic Church underwent profound transformation of its philosophical and ethical concepts related to social and individual human rights. Soares insisted that even if most hierarchy – with the exception of the Bishop of Beira in Mozambique – “remained impervious to any modernizing thought ... the leaven was beginning to work”.⁵⁷ Thus Soares states,

Another marked feature of Salazar’s last years was the conflict of the regime with an important sector of the [Roman] Catholic Church, for after Vatican II a great many of the clergy – especially priests under the age of fifty – and various lay organizations began to raise their voices in opposition.⁵⁸

However, by 1968 the majority of the Roman Catholic followers considered the Second Vatican Council as a blow to the Portuguese nationalist, integralist and traditionalist mind-set. Corroboratively, Eric O. Hanson has mentioned in *The Catholic Church in World Politics* the position of the Roman Catholic majority:

The deliberations of the Vatican II remain highly suspect... We refuse ... to follow Rome of neo-modernist and neo-Protestant tendencies which clearly manifest themselves in the Second Vatican Council and after the Council in all the reforms which issued from it.⁵⁹

Nevertheless, the opposing Roman Catholics known as ‘progressive’ were again inspired to continue resisting the regime by celebrating the “Day of Peace”. The 1 January had

⁵² *Second Vatican Council*, (Encyclopaedia Britannica. Inc. 1964. Sv optics. London: Benton. <http://www.britannica.com/>. Accessed on 4 October, 2013).

⁵³ Abbott, Walter M., Ed, *The Message and Meaning of the Ecumenical Council: The Documents of Vatican II*, (Geoffrey Chapman. London - Dublin. The America Press. 1966), pp. 343-350.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 660-668.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 675-700.

⁵⁶ Hanson, Eric O., *The Catholic Church in World Politics*, (Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey. [USA]. 1987), p. 102.

⁵⁷ Soares, Mário, *Portugal’s Struggle for Liberty*, Op. cit., p. 115.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 203-204.

⁵⁹ Hanson, Eric O., *The Catholic Church in World Politics*, Op. cit., p. 102.

been chosen by Pope Paul VI to celebrate the “Day of Peace” as had been suggested by Pope John XXIII’s famous encyclical “*Pacem in Terris*”.⁶⁰ According to Historical Database of the 25 April (*Base de Dados Históricos 25 de Abril*)⁶¹ during the service of New Year’s eve Service of 1969, the “progressive” Roman Catholics informed Cardinal Cerejeira about their desire to remain inside the church in a vigil until the next day, the Day of Peace. They intended to reflect on the need for peace in the colonies and on how the colonial wars could be put to an end. However, as Fernando Rosas and J. M. Brandão de Brito highlight in *Vigília da Capela do Rato*⁶² “The next morning, the faithful left the church already under surveillance of PIDE”.⁶³

Three years later a clandestine organization called Revolutionary Brigades (Brigadas Revolucionárias)⁶⁴ led by Carlos Antunes and Isabel do Carmo⁶⁵ organized a fast to continue the debate on peace and the colonial war. Rato’s Chapel⁶⁶ was chosen again because it was led by Father Alberto Neto, one of the most⁶⁷ “restless [Roman] Catholics”.⁶⁸ The organizers followed the dictum of Pope Paul VI, which was imperative,⁶⁹ “Peace is possible, and peace is a duty”.⁷⁰ In his message the Pope proclaimed that the solutions to world conflicts should be sought through dialogue, not through war. Nonetheless, agreeing with the Pope’s idea the progressive Roman Catholics had to face the Portuguese Roman Catholic leadership who persisted in ignoring the Pope.⁷¹ On the two days preceding the celebration of the Day of Peace (30 and 31 December, 1971) the chapel welcomed hundreds of people to discuss peace and to demonstrate their condemnation of war. From a Roman Catholic perspective these people defiantly debated about the costs of war and its moral consequences, proclaiming the urgent need to stop the unjust war. The organizers of the celebration of the Day of Peace displayed pictures of the corpses of dead soldiers and pictures of people massacred in the

60 Rosas, Fernando, J.M. Brandão de Brito, *Vigília da Capela do Rato*, (Dictionary: Dicionário da História do Estado Novo. Boletim da Associação 25 de Abril. Lisbon, Portugal. <http://www.25abril.org/>. Accessed on 10 October, 2013).

61 Rosas, Fernando, J.M. Brandão de Brito, *Vigília da Capela do Rato*, Op. cit.

62 Original text in Portuguese: “Na manhã seguinte, os fiéis saíram da igreja já sob a vigilância da PIDE”.

63 Rosas, Fernando, J.M. Brandão de Brito, *Vigília da Capela do Rato*, Op. cit.

64 Ibid.

65 Ibid.

66 Located on Calçada Bento Cabral in Lisbon.

67 Original text in Portuguese: “mais inquietos da comunidade católica”.

68 Rosas, Fernando, J.M. Brandão de Brito, *Vigília da Capela do Rato*, Op. cit.

69 Original text in Portuguese: “A paz é possível, a paz é obrigatória”.

70 Rosas, Fernando, J.M. Brandão de Brito, *Vigília da Capela do Rato*, Op. cit.

71 Ibid.

colonial wars. Repression of the event on the evening of 31 December, 1971 was twofold. Initially PIDE arrested fifty people and accused them of treason to the Nation. The Patriarch issued an official *communiqué* criticizing the use of the chapel for the purpose of a political debate, and relieved Father Alberto Neto in charge of the chapel, of his duties.⁷² However, the interference of PIDE, the Patriarch as well as the dismissal of Father Neto could not suppress the spread of the news which was fuelled by media reports of the frustration of the those people who wanted peace and the end of the colonial wars.

Meanwhile, the Army was engaged in slaughtering the populations of Wiriyamu and Chawola in Mozambique, in a military operation that would prove to become detrimental to Portuguese international credibility.⁷³ The massacres were discussed by National Assembly where Francisco Sá Carneiro and Miller Guerra daringly claimed that those massacres were not isolated cases and that there was an escalation of unrest in the Portuguese society concerning the colonial wars.⁷⁴ In mid-January 1972 the Bishop of Nampula (in Mozambique) Dom Manuel Vieira Pinto issued a Pastoral Letter entitled Rethinking the War (*Repensar a Guerra*),⁷⁵ followed by the publication of another Pastoral Letter on 12 February, 1972 entitled Imperative of Conscience (*Imperativo de Consciência*).⁷⁶ In both Pastoral Letters the Bishop concluded that there was an urgent need to find a political solution to the armed conflicts in Portuguese colonies.⁷⁷ Consequently, PIDE banned Dom Manuel Vieira Pinto from the colony to silence him and prevent him from further opposition but the New State had other religious sources of opposition from the Protestant, Evangelical and Pentecostal Churches.

72 Ibid.

73 Ibid.

74 Ibid.

75 Gomes, Carlos de Matos, and Aniceto Afonso, *Guerra de África – Portugal Militar em África 1961-1974 – Atividade Militar*, (Paper: Conclusões do Seminário realizado nos dias 12 e 13 de abril de 2012 no Instituto de Estudos Superiores Militares (IESM), Lisboa. [Portugal]. <http://www1.ci.uc.pt/>. Accessed on 17 October, 2013), p. 15.

76 [?], *Católicos progressistas. Bispo de Nampula*, (Information: Associação 25 de Abril, Lisbon, Portugal. <http://www.25abril.org/>. Accessed on 1 October, 2013).

77 Gomes, Carlos de Matos, and Aniceto Afonso, *Guerra de África – Portugal Militar em África 1961-1974 – Atividade Militar*, Op. cit., p. 15.

1.2.2 PROTESTANT, EVANGELICAL AND PENTECOSTAL OPPOSITION TO THE NEW STATE

Opposition to the New State's regime came from Protestant, Evangelical and Pentecostal denominations as well, particularly through the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance (Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa – AEP) and the Portuguese Council of Christian Churches (Conselho Português de Igrejas Cristãs – COPIC). During the First Republic in 1921 Pastor Eduardo Moreira organized the Statutes of the AEP but they were only approved in 1935 by the New State already in the Second Republic.⁷⁸ Since the beginning the AEP defended the rights of the Protestants, Evangelicals and Pentecostals against political as well as social and cultural⁷⁹ “resistance”⁸⁰ in a prolonged walk to the promulgation in 2001 of the *Religious Freedom Act* (Lei da Liberdade Religiosa). In 1947 Moreira wanted the Statutes to be modified from an individual membership to a church membership which was not successful and according to Ericson⁸¹ caused the initial thought for the establishment of a new organization of churches that would be named Portuguese Council of Christian Churches (Conselho Português de Igrejas Cristãs – COPIC). The COPIC's website informs that in 1956 the actual ecumenical experience began but that its Statutes were only approved at the end of the New State's regime on 10 June, 1971.⁸²

For the purpose of this thesis the term **Evangelicals** (my emphasis) will be used in a broad sense to include all Protestants, Evangelicals, Pentecostals, Charismatics as well as Neo-Pentecostal Churches because in Portugal all these churches refer to themselves as “Evangelicals”. Manuel Pedro Cardoso argues in *Introduction to Protestantism* (*Introdução ao Protestantismo*) that Evangelical denominations tend to be democratic in their ecclesiastic organization as a legacy of the Reformation. He points out,⁸³ “The existing systems of church government in Protestantism are of the democratic type and therefore the internal life of the Churches is, for many, a school of democratic

78 Humberto, Jorge, Ed., *História*, (Information: Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa, AEP online portal, <http://www.aliancaevangelica.pt/>. Accessed on 15 June, 2015).

79 Original text in Portuguese: “resistências”.

80 Humberto, Jorge, Ed., *História*, Op. cit.

81 Ericson, Gerald, *Os Evangélicos em Portugal*, (Núcleo, Centro de Publicações Cristãs, Lda. Queluz, Portugal. 1984), p. 58.

82 Massa, Luís, Ed., *Um pouco sobre a história*, (Information: Conselho Português de Igrejas Cristãs COPIC, online portal, <http://www.copic.pt/>. Accessed on 15 June, 2015).

83 Original text in Portuguese: “Os sistemas de governo eclesiástico existentes no protestantismo são do tipo democrático e por isso a vida interna das Igrejas é, para muitos, escola de vivência democrática”.

experience”.⁸⁴ However, this does not mean that all Protestant/Evangelical denominations have the same attitude towards their involvement with national politics. In Cardoso’s opinion, Evangelicals’ attitude towards Portuguese politics tends to be a⁸⁵ “Naive view and conformist attitude on politics”,⁸⁶ that is,⁸⁷ “In the early ‘60s ... there was a propensity among Evangelicals that may be viewed as apolitical alienation”.⁸⁸

The opposition by the Evangelicals has an older manifestation in Portuguese history than that of the “progressive” Roman Catholics. Non-Roman Catholics were subject to social discrimination under Salazar’s regime while Roman Catholics were generally protected by the New State.⁸⁹ In *Interview 13* (See Interviews Conducted)⁹⁰ Jardim was asked how the “New State” (Estado Novo) viewed the Evangelicals for their resistance to Salazar’s ideology for Roman Catholic uniformity of society. Jardim stated⁹¹ “There was a suspicious view of ... [the] Protestant [and] Evangelical movements”.⁹² To confirm his statement Jardim added⁹³ “they were looked down upon by society, as outcasts”.⁹⁴

Evangelicals opposed the New State in various defiant manners one of which was the continuing Evangelism and establishment of churches. Despite condemnation from the regime, Evangelicals persisted zealously preaching their non-Roman Catholic Christian message to the Portuguese as highlighted by Carlos Baptista in *Miracles of God in Portugal: Ingrid and Tage Stahlberg their life and work (1938-1978)* (*Milagres de Deus em Portugal: Ingrid e Tage Stahlberg sua vida e obra*). In a report to his Swedish

84 Cardoso, Manuel Pedro, *Introdução ao Protestantismo*, (Instituto Piaget. Lisboa. [Portugal]. 2004), p. 140.

85 Original text in Portuguese: “visão ingénua, tendencialmente conformista em relação à política”.

86 Cardoso, Manuel Pedro, *Introdução ao Protestantismo*, Op. cit., p. 141.

87 Original text in Portuguese: “No início da década de [19]60 ... havia um ambiente que se pode chamar de ‘despolitização alienante’”.

88 Cardoso, Manuel Pedro, *Introdução ao Protestantismo*, Op. cit., p. 142.

89 Da Silva, F. C., *A Study of the Charismatic Movement in Portugal with Particular reference to the Fraternal Association*, (Dissertation: Master’s degree in Church History, UNISA, University of South Africa), p. 55.

90 The Vice-president of the National Assembly.

91 Original text in Portuguese: “havia um olhar muito desconfiado sobre, designadamente, tudo o que fosse movimentos protestantes [e] evangélicos”.

92 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 13 – with Dr José Vera Jardim*, (Interview: conducted at his office on the Portuguese National Assembly, 30 March, 2011), pp. 20-21.

93 Original text in Portuguese: “Porque eram pessoas mal olhadas – digamos – socialmente”.

94 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 13 – with Dr José Vera Jardim*, Op. cit., pp. 20-21.

Mission Stahlberg mentioned how Pastor José Lopes Quedas had patiently suffered the opposing forces of the Portuguese Administration to establish a church in Azores.⁹⁵

Evangelicals were considered by the State apparatus and society in general as anti-nationalists, communists, and oppositionists to the regime; therefore, they were repressed and discriminated against. The Roman “Catholic Newspaper”⁹⁶ *News (Novidades)* of 9 January, 1944 considered the Evangelicals as enemies of the faith and of the nation.⁹⁷ The *Novidades* reported that Evangelicals were preaching an anti-nationalist Protestant propaganda and suggested that these people be eliminated from society. In this regard Baptista states that *Novidades* was used to incite Catholics towards violence against Evangelicals, as is evident in the following statement,⁹⁸ “We must ask ourselves if for us [Roman] Catholics is it not the time to put an end to this Protestant fervour. Is this not a [Roman] Catholic nation?”⁹⁹

Evangelicals immigrated¹⁰⁰ to countries where they could worship freely in opposition to Salazar’s regime. The Evangelicals who remained in the country patiently endured repression and discrimination from the Roman Catholics and the authorities, while maintaining their faith. According to Barata there was a “Protestant syndrome”,¹⁰¹ that is, Evangelicals were socially and religiously ostracised by Portuguese Roman Catholic society,

This Protestant syndrome was so strong that many [Roman] Catholic priests refused to allow the Protestant dead to be buried in the public cemeteries. They claimed the cemeteries belonged to the Catholic people and were holy ground.¹⁰²

All the same, Evangelicals ignored their harsh conditions under Salazar’s regime and the Roman Catholic society and demonstrated their new faith through their public

95 Baptista, Carlos, *Milagres de Deus em Portugal, Ingrid e Tage Stahlberg sua vida e obra, 1938-1978*, (Casa Publicadora da Convenção das Assembleias de Deus em Portugal. Edições NA. Lisbon, Portugal. 2002), p. 54.

96 Ibid., p. 53.

97 Da Silva, F. C., *A Study of the Charismatic Movement in Portugal with Particular reference to the Fraternal Association*, Op. cit., p. 55.

98 Original text in Portuguese: “Devemos perguntar-nos se para nós católicos não é o tempo de colocarmos um fim a este fervor protestante. Não é esta uma nação católica?”

99 Baptista, C., Op. cit., pp. 53-54.

100 Da Silva, F. C., *A Study of the Charismatic Movement in Portugal with Particular reference to the Fraternal Association*, Op. cit., p. 55.

101 Ibid., pp. 68-69.

102 Ibid.

testimony,¹⁰³ which generally depicted an obvious transformation of their moral lifestyle since their conversion from Roman Catholicism to the Evangelical faith. António Costa Barata, Fernando Martinez, João T. Parreira, Samuel Pinheiro, and Torcato Lopes wrote *Línguas de Fogo: História da Assembleia de Deus de Lisboa*, in which they referred to Fernando Pessoa's poem,¹⁰⁴

Lying in bed
What was at hand to read?
The *Bible* in Portuguese?
Curious thing!
Made for Protestants.¹⁰⁵

This poem highlights a remarkable feature which is that although the *Protestant Bible* was one of the books prohibited in the Index of Prohibited Books (*Index Librorum Prohibitorum*)¹⁰⁶ Pessoa had acquired a copy of the forbidden *Protestant Bible*,¹⁰⁷ was reading it and writing about it. However, he was doing something illegal because Portuguese citizens did not have free access to the *Bible* since 1551, due to the censure imposed by Inquisition in the respect for the Index of Prohibited Book (Is *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*) fully applied in Portugal. Maria Inês Nemésio states in *Índices de livros proibidos no século XVI em Portugal: à procura da 'Literatura'* states,¹⁰⁸ “More importantly, the preoccupation of the censure [of Inquisition] to prohibit books in the vernacular language, namely *Bible* translations, of the *Epistles* and of the *Gospels*”.¹⁰⁹

When Evangelicals were baptized in water, they professed to be ready to endure any discrimination, persecution or repression and always to follow Christ at any cost, as Barata *et al* mentioned.¹¹⁰ Prayer meetings were held across the country organized by every local church of each Evangelical denomination to peacefully resist the aggression of the religious and the political system. This resistance was non-aggressive; however,

103 Barata, António C., et al, *Línguas de Fogo: História da Assembleia de Deus de Lisboa*, (CAPU, Casa Publicadora das Assembleias de Deus em Portugal, Lisboa. Portugal. 1999), pp. 25-26.

104 Original text in Portuguese: “Num poema ... de Fernando Pessoa, o poeta ... escreve, “Inserito na cama, / O que estava à mão para ler / A Bíblia, em português (coisa curiosa), / Feita para protestantes”.

105 Barata, António C., et al, *Línguas de Fogo: História da Assembleia de Deus de Lisboa*, Op. cit., pp. 25-26.

106 [?], *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, (Index of Prohibited Books from the Roman Office of the Inquisition, 1559. Bavarian State Library, online portal, <http://www.aloha.net/>. Accessed on 21 September, 2015).

107 Barata, António C., et al, *Línguas de Fogo: História da Assembleia de Deus de Lisboa*, Op. cit., pp. 32-34.

108 Original text in Portuguese: “Mais importante, foi a preocupação da censura em proibir obras em linguagem vulgar, nomeadamente traduções da Bíblia, das Epístolas e dos Evangelhos”.

109 Nemésio, Maria Inês, *Índices de livros proibidos no século XVI em Portugal: à procura da 'Literatura'*, (CITCEM, Universidade do Porto, Porto, Portugal. <http://web.letras.up.pt/>. Accessed on 23 August, 2015. [?]), p. 8.

110 Barata, António C., et al, *Línguas de Fogo: História da Assembleia de Deus de Lisboa*, Op. cit., p. 43.

the Evangelicals openly defied both the religious and the political systems by holding regular prayer meetings making intercession before God asking for His forgiveness for the offenders and to give them grace to endure.

There was a case of a persecution experienced when the Baptist Church wished to inaugurate their church in Trofa. The Judge actually helped this Evangelical Church by opening the court on a Sunday to discuss the public case.¹¹¹ Deliberate, and many times organized persecution, was carried on, with particular violence such as stoning, illegal police arrests, the destruction of worship property and the burning of Christian literature. This was the daily experience of every non-[Roman] Catholic believer across the country, when the population, instigated by religious fury, persecuted the Protestants and the Evangelicals as if they were criminals, anti-nationalists and dangerous people. However, it is necessary to highlight that the response of the Protestants and Evangelicals was always with an attitude of forgiveness, tolerance and pity for their neighbours' historical and biblical ignorance, and prayer for those violent and resistant infuriated people.¹¹²

Evangelicals prayed intensively for liberty (Barata *et al*).^{113 114}“The spiritual wrestling was done with the knees on the ground as brothers and sisters in Sweden, in Brazil [and in Portugal] prayed”.¹¹⁵ The subtle cruelty of the representatives of the civil and religious authorities used against Evangelicals had the acquiescence of the State apparel. The Evangelicals showed their resilience in their opposition to the regime by illegally organizing public meetings in streets and squares, as well as national youth rallies and conferences, which attracted the permanent attention, surveillance and pressure of the police.

Even in the colonies such as Angola repression was high. As described in a *Telephonic Interview 2* (See Interviews Conducted) Castilho, a former missionary of the Assemblies of God in Angola during the colonial period said¹¹⁶ that in Angola Evangelicals felt repression in late 1950s and 1960s. According to Castilho, the “Cuanza Sul Province”¹¹⁷

111 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview with Luisa Costa*, (Conducted by myself to inform this thesis on the 14 January, 2005 at the Portuguese Evangelical Church, 97 Elston Ave. Benoni, RSA).

112 Da Silva, F. C., *A Study of the Charismatic Movement in Portugal with Particular reference to the Fraternal Association*, Op. cit., p. 71.

113 Original text in Portuguese: “Possuía a inabalável certeza de que a oração que o missionário Jack [Härdstedt] costumava fazer no seu escritório, com os joelhos em terra e com lágrimas: “Senhor, salva os portugueses”, era de uma forma especial ouvida e respondida diariamente por Deus.” (Barata, António C., et al, *Línguas de Fogo: História da Assembleia de Deus de Lisboa*, Op. cit., p. 8.

114 Original text in Portuguese: “No plano espiritual a pugna fazia-se de joelhos no chão, os irmãos da Suécia oravam [bem como os de Portugal e do] ... Brasil”.

115 Barata, António C., et al, *Línguas de Fogo: História da Assembleia de Deus de Lisboa*, Op. cit., p. 37.

116 Original text in Portuguese: - “...em África, nomeadamente em Angola, sentiu-se essa repressão no fim da década de 50 e de 60. Inclusive com a expulsão de missionários, a prisão de crentes, tortura e morte de muitos crentes, especialmente na zona do Cuanza Sul”.

117 Da Silva, F. C., *Telephonic Interview 2 – with Ps Joaquim Castilho*, (Conducted on 17 October, 2013 at 15:47 pm), p. 2.

is where the following atrocities were perpetrated, missionaries were expelled, imprisoned, tortured and pastors and believers were executed.

Evangelicals persisted with their opposition to the regime by providing each church member with a membership card, which prevented the secret police from infiltrating their private administrative meetings and Holy Communion services. Under Salazar's regime converts were encouraged prior to their 'water baptism' and 'profession of faith' to dissociate themselves from professions such as lawyers, policeman or secret policeman. They would not be baptized unless well proven that candidates were indeed ready to accept the responsibilities and duties of their condition as followers of Christ, which implied their need to be ready to lower their social status by becoming "second class citizens" in Portuguese society. The Evangelicals kept moving in their semi-underground meetings despite discrimination and repression to establish their churches and congregations. Jardim corroborates,¹¹⁸ "An Evangelical church ... would make their prayers almost furtively, and they were kind of hiding".¹¹⁹

Some students and teachers of the Evangelical Theological Seminary were imprisoned and tortured by the PIDE as mentioned¹²⁰ by Manuel Pedro Cardoso in *Introdução ao Protestantismo* as was the case with Bishop Luís Rodrigues Pereira of the Lusitanian Church.¹²¹ Pastor Dimas de Almeida¹²² participated in the 1969 electoral campaign against the State and in 1971 he integrated a list of 64 personalities including Roman Catholic priests and others as members of the National Commission to Help Political Prisoners (Comissão Nacional de Socorro aos Presos Políticos).¹²³ As the pastor of the Lisbon Presbyterian Church Almeida's sermons led some of the members of his congregation to report him to PIDE and he was called in for interrogation after having his residence searched. Another case is that of Pastor Joel Lourenço Pinto who refused to fight in the colonial war, fleeing to Switzerland.¹²⁴

118 Original text in Portuguese: "...an Evangelical Church ... would make their prayers a little almost furtively. They were kind of hiding".

119 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 13 – with Dr José Vera Jardim*, Op. cit., p. 17.

120 Original text in Portuguese: "Só lá por 1965 ... é que alguns dos estudantes e professores do Seminário Evangélico de Teologia, assim como ministros das igrejas sinodais, começaram a ter consciência da perversidade do regime. Um filho do bispo D. Luís Rodrigues Pereira, da Igreja Lusitana, esteve preso pela PIDE, com muitos dias de tortura".

121 Cardoso, Manuel Pedro, *Introdução ao Protestantismo*, Op. cit., p. 143.

122 Ibid.

123 Ibid.

124 Ibid.

Opposition to the State was evident in a course written by Manuel Pedro Cardoso upon the request of Dimas de Almeida for the Theological Evangelical Seminary (Seminário Evangélico de Teologia)¹²⁵ entitled¹²⁶ Christian and Politics According to St. Paul (*O Cristão e a Política Segundo São Paulo*).¹²⁷ This course was taught under considerable fear as Cardoso indicates,¹²⁸ “We remember the fear felt by the speaker as well as by the students of those rare nights”.¹²⁹ While this happened in Portugal similar atrocities were taking place in Mozambique. Pastor Zedequias Manganhela¹³⁰ was imprisoned by PIDE, according to Cardoso. A commission from the headquarters of his Presbyterian denomination in Portugal led by Pastor Rui Rodrigues sent a vehement letter to “Marcelo Caetano”¹³¹ demanding the release of their colleague Zedequias Manganhela. However, PIDE did not retaliate arresting those pastors in Portugal because they had sent a copy of their letter to Caetano and to several international human rights organizations.

Regardless of the harsh political conditions and the pressures of the regime Protestant/Evangelical media was established. The American missionary to Portugal for the Assemblies of God Roland Q. Dudley wrote an article entitled *History of the Assemblies of God in Portugal* informing readers of several publications produced by his denomination, namely “[Joyful News] *Novas de Alegria* first published in 1943; ... [Good Seed] *Boa Semente* first published in 1949; ... [and,] [Sunday Expositor] *Expositor Dominical* first published in 1962”.¹³² A national radio programme was established on 4 March, 1969 known as “[Joyful News Radio] Rádio-Novas de Alegria ... at precisely 23:05, a new sound passed through the country. On that unforgettable day, the Word of God was ... broadcast through the air waves and the “Programa Novas de Alegria” was born”.¹³³

125 Ibid., p. 144.

126 Original text in Portuguese: “O Cristão e a Política Segundo São Paulo”.

127 Cardoso, Manuel Pedro, *Introdução ao Protestantismo*, Op. cit., p. 144.

128 Original text in Portuguese: “Lembramo-nos do receio do conferencista e dos raros ouvintes dessas noites”.

129 Cardoso, Manuel Pedro, *Introdução ao Protestantismo*, Op. cit., p. 144.

130 Ibid.

131 Ibid.

132 Dudley, Roland Q., *History of the Assemblies of God in Portugal*, (Article: EPTA Bulletin – European Pentecostal Theological Association. East Europe Committee – Chairman: Roland Q. Dudley. Baden, Austria. Vol. XII. 1993. <http://www.eptaonline.com/>. Accessed on 21 February, 2014), p. 59.

133 Ibid.

The Publishing House (Casa Publicadora – CAPU) is the Assembly of God’s publishing house established in 1943,¹³⁴ according to Dudley. Regarding the spread of literary products among the Assembly of God Churches Dudley states that apart from the Christian bookshop in Lisbon,¹³⁵ “every local church has a bookstand to provide Christian literature for its congregation”,¹³⁶ by which the Assemblies of God openly defied the State disseminating their particular Christian literature.

It was under these harsh circumstances for the Protestants/Evangelicals that in 1966 Salazar achieved the publication of the Civil Code as the last resort to perpetuate the New State.

1.2.3 THE CIVIL CODE OF 1966

The new *Civil Code of 1966* had its beginnings in 1944 known as the Decree No. 33 908 of 4 September, 1944 (*Decreto-Lei n.º 33 908 de 4 de Setembro, 1944*); but, it was only published in 1966, promulgated by Decree No. 47 344, of November 25, 1966 (*Decreto-Lei n.º 47 344, de 25 de Novembro de 1966*).¹³⁷ In an article entitled *The Origins of the Civil Code of 1966: An Outline for a Contribution (As Origens do Código Civil de 1966: Esboço para Uma Contribuição)* Luís Correia Mendonça states,¹³⁸

The ... isolation of the regime in relation to the popular masses, the ‘monstrous wedlock’ worked out with [Roman] Catholicism ..., the archaic, conservative and agrarian character of its structures, have generally been described as the main elements that distinguish the [New State] *Estado Novo* from the rest of European fascisms... As the governments of Mussolini and Hitler, Salazar's Government also ordered the drawing up of a project to revise the general Civil Code.¹³⁹

Essentially, the *Civil Code of 1966* consisted of the condemnation of individualism and liberalism. That is, the word ‘*Civil*’ in the title of the *Civil Code 1966* was not meant in

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ CAPU – Casa Publicadora das Assembleias de Deus em Portugal, Lda. Lisboa. <http://www.livrariacapu.com/>. Accessed on 21 February, 2014).

¹³⁶ Dudley, Roland Q., *History of the Assemblies of God in Portugal*, Op. cit., p. 60.

¹³⁷ [?], *Código Civil*, (Direção-Geral da Política de Justiça (DGPJ), Leis da Justiça, Livro III, Leis Cíveis e de Processo Civil, Leis Cíveis, Código Civil. Direção-Geral da Política de Justiça – Ministério da Justiça. Lisboa. Portugal. <http://www.dgpj.mj.pt/>. Accessed on 14 October, 2013).

¹³⁸ Original text in Portuguese: “O ... isolamento do regime em relação às massas populares, o «conúbio monstruoso» operado com o catolicismo ..., o carácter arcaizante, conservador e agrário das suas estruturas, têm sido geralmente apontados como os principais elementos que diferenciam o Estado Novo dos fascismos europeus ... Tal como os Governos de Mussolini e de Hitler, também o Governo de Salazar mandou proceder à elaboração de um projecto de revisão geral do Código Civil”.

¹³⁹ Mendonça, Luís Correia, *As Origens do Código Civil de 1966: Esboço Para Uma Contribuição*, (Article: *Análise Social*, Revista do Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade de Lisboa (ICS). Lisboa, Portugal. vol. xviii (72-73-74), 1982.

⁸<http://analisesocial.ics.ul.pt/>. Accessed on 14 October, 2013), p. 829.

the sense of a code of free and equal citizens as found in the French Revolution's concept.¹⁴⁰ As Mendonça highlights,¹⁴¹

The merciless condemnation of individualism for being the motor of the liberal project, and the identification of society and the State withdraws any rationale for the existence of a private law. The rights of the individual become those of public interest and mere images of their duties to the State... The totalitarian State escapes the formal legal legitimacy and the legality of the bourgeois constitutional State establishing a new connection with the legal rights: codes, as any law, become an instrument for the service of State policy, public and private rights tended to unite in a single social right.¹⁴²

Mendonça argues that the main reason for the *Civil Code of 1966* was to¹⁴³ “restore order in the material civil legislation”¹⁴⁴ against the¹⁴⁵ “national disorder”¹⁴⁶ of the First Republic from 1910 to 1926 as understood by the Estado Novo. In fact, the period from 28 May, 1926 to 25 April, 1974 must historically be understood under such guidelines.¹⁴⁷ Commenting on the nature of the *Civil Code of 1966* João de Matos Antunes Varela wrote an article entitled The Reformation of Civil Right (*A Reforma do Direito Civil*). As he puts it,¹⁴⁸ “Interfering to discipline relationships in the familiar society ... civil law touches assiduously in the deeper layers of our earthly existence and it is one of the strongest bastions of the human person against the increasingly greater colossus that is the modern state”.¹⁴⁹ Consequently, Salazar thought it necessary that the civil rights be altered.

There had been a continuous historical flow of Portuguese Civil Codes since 1867, but the Decree No. 44 129 of Thursday 28 December, 1961 (*Decreto-Lei nº 44 129 de Quinta-feira 28 de Dezembro de 1961*) explains the mindset behind the formulation of

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 831.

¹⁴¹ Original text in Portuguese: “A condenação sem complacências do individualismo, motor do projecto liberal, e a identificação da sociedade e do Estado retiram qualquer razão de ser ao direito privado. Os direitos dos indivíduos tornam-se cambiantes do interesse público, imagens dos seus deveres para com o Estado ... O Estado totalitário escapa à legitimidade e à legalidade jurídico-formal do Estado constitucional burguês e estabelece um novo nexos com o direito: os códigos, como qualquer lei, transformam-se num instrumento ao serviço da política do Estado, o direito público e o privado tendem a unir-se num único direito social”.

¹⁴² Mendonça, Luís Correia, *As Origens do Código Civil de 1966: Esboço Para Uma Contribuição*, Op. cit., p. 830.

¹⁴³ Original text in Portuguese: “...restabelecer a ordem em material de legislação civil”.

¹⁴⁴ Mendonça, Luís Correia, *As Origens do Código Civil de 1966: Esboço Para Uma Contribuição*, Op. cit., p. 837.

¹⁴⁵ Original text in Portuguese: “...desordem nacional”.

¹⁴⁶ Mendonça, Luís Correia, *As Origens do Código Civil de 1966: Esboço Para Uma Contribuição*, Op. cit., p. 837.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Original text in Portuguese: “Interferindo na sociedade familiar para disciplinar as relações ... o direito civil toca assiduamente nas camadas mais profundas da nossa existência terrena e constitui um dos mais fortes redutos da pessoa humana contra o colosso cada vez maior que é o estado moderno”.

¹⁴⁹ Varela, João de Matos Antunes, *A Reforma do Direito Civil*, (Article: Projeto do Código Civil. Ministério da Justiça, Lisboa. [Portugal]. 1966), p. L – LI.

the new Portuguese legislation enshrined in the *Civil Code of 1966*. This *Act* proves there was a deliberate change of the legal course towards a way contrary to the previous liberalizing transformation of the First Republic, which Varela describes:¹⁵⁰ “Soon it was recognized that the ancient right/law modelled on the fundamental postulates of individualistic liberalism, no longer correspond to the demands of modern times”.¹⁵¹

The relevance of the *Civil Code of 1966* for the argument of this thesis is that it endorses the prohibition of religious freedom for those not belonging to the Roman Catholic Church. The *Civil Code of 1966* ignores the principle of religious freedom adopted as part of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* according to the United Nations Assembly of 10 December, 1948 at the Palais de Chaillot in Paris, France.¹⁵²

The *Civil Code of 1966* gave a special position to the Roman Catholic Church providing a bond between the Portuguese law and Roman Catholic canonical law. An example of the bond of Portuguese law with canonical law is Article 116 paragraph 2 of the *Civil Code of 1966* concerning marriage, which reads:¹⁵³ “Article 116 ... If the marriage has been done under Roman Catholic canonical law and one of the spouses is absent, his or her spouse may only enter into a new marriage if permitted by Roman Catholic canonical laws”.¹⁵⁴ Indeed, the *Civil Code of 1966* mentions two types of marriages, first, the Roman Catholic marriage; and, second, the civil marriage. That is, a marriage celebrated by a non-Roman Catholic religion was only recognized as legal when performed by a judge in a court of law. Another example of religious discrimination enshrined in the *Civil Code of 1966* was that apart from the Roman Catholic Church the only way any religious organization would be legalized was to be constituted as a ‘religious association’ according to the terms and conditions of Articles 157 to 184 of the *Civil Code of 1966*. Therefore, since the non-Roman Catholic marriages were performed by a

150 Original text in Portuguese: “A breve trecho se reconheceu que o antigo direito adjetivo, todo decalcado sobre os postulados fundamentais do liberalismo individualista, já não correspondem às exigências dos tempos modernos”.

151 Varela, João de Matos Antunes, *Código do Processo Penal*, (Legislation: Suplemento, Diário do Governo, I Série – Número 299, Quinta-feira 28 de Dezembro de 1961, Imprensa Nacional. [Lisboa, Portugal], 1961. <http://www.dgpj.mj.pt/>. Accessed on 18 October, 2013), p. [1783].

152 *Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)*, (Legislation: Declaration adopted by the United Nations Assembly on 10 December, 1948 at the Palais de Chaillot, Paris, [France]. <https://www.google.com/>. Accessed on May 18, 2015).

153 Original text in Portuguese: “Artigo 116º (Casamento do cônjuge do ausente) ... 2. Sendo católico o casamento do ausente, o seu cônjuge só pode celebrar novo matrimónio se as leis canónicas o permitirem”.

154 Varela, João de Matos Antunes, *Código Civil [de 1966], Artigo 116º (Casamento do cônjuge do ausente)*, (Legislation: Decreto-Lei nº 47 344, Diário do Governo, I Série – Número 274, Sexta-feira 25 de Novembro de 1966. Imprensa Nacional de Lisboa. [Portugal]. 1966. Diário da República Eletrónico, <http://www.dre.pt/>. Accessed on 18 October, 2013), p. 1896.

judge any subsequent religious ceremony had no legal value and was negated by the State.

With the intention to perpetuate the Estado Novo's fascist ideals the *Civil Code of 1966* came into being; however, the Estado Novo was beginning to decline. The *Civil Code of 1966* was promulgated too late in the life of Salazar, just a few years prior to his death on 27 July, 1970.¹⁵⁵ On 27 September, 1968¹⁵⁶ Marcelo Caetano succeeded Salazar as Prime Minister. Consequently, Caetano's period of office was the beginning of change to State policy regarding religious freedom. However, this only truly happened by Law n.º 16/2001 of 22 June – Religious Liberty Act (*Lei N.º 16/2001, de 22 de Junho – Lei da Liberdade Religiosa*) which amended articles “1615.º, 1654.º and 1670.º” of the Civil Code 1966.¹⁵⁷ The amendment of these articles finally paved the way to an enhanced environment on religious freedom for all faiths.

1.2.4 THE NATURE OF CAETANO'S RULE (1968-1974): EVOLUTION IN CONTINUITY

Marcelo Caetano did not attain his main projects which were the incorporation of the liberal professionals under his control, the integration in Europe, the resolution of the colonial problems and his program for the New State. Caetano's new approach polity was expressed as continuity in change (*continuidade na mudança*),¹⁵⁸ which was manifested as the relaxation of repression and censorship as well as the development of a liberal wing inside the one-party National Assembly. Caetano's Government has been considered a transitional period from the New State to democracy. In *Marcelismo no Estado Novo – a governação de Marcelo Caetano* Michal Kováč labels Caetano's era as the Marcelo's Spring (*Primavera marcelista*)¹⁵⁹ in which Portuguese politics kept on

155 [?], *Salazar Caiu da Cadeira Faz Domingo 40 Anos*, (News report: *Jornal de Notícias*. Lisboa. Publicado em 2008-08-01. <http://www.jn.pt/>. Accessed on 19 October, 2013).

156 Caetano, Marcelo, *Depoimento*, (Interview: Entrevista efectuada no Mundo Português. Record, 2ª Edição. 1976. <http://leccart2006.tripod.com/>. Accessed on 18 October, 2013), p. 14.

157 [?], *Código Civil*, (Legislation: Direção-Geral da Política de Justiça (DGPJ), Leis da Justiça, Livro III, Leis Cíveis e de Processo Cível, Leis Cíveis, Código Civil. Direção-Geral da Política de Justiça – Ministério da Justiça. Lisboa. Portugal. <http://www.dgpj.mj.pt/>. Accessed on 14 October, 2013).

158 [?], *Marcello Caetano e a Transição Portuguesa: Entre a história e a memória*, (Information: Casa da América Latina, Lisbon, Portugal. <http://casadamericalatina.files.wordpress.com/>. Accessed on 18 October, 2013), p. 16.

159 Kováč, Michal, *Marcelismo no Estado Novo – a governação de Marcelo Caetano*, (Monograph: Masarykova univerzita, Filozofická fakulta. Czech Republic. 5º ano do curso da Língua e Literatura Portuguesa. 1981. <http://www.premioiberoamericano.cz/>. Accessed on 13 May, 2015), p. 6.

pursuing opportunities for the necessary reforms while maintaining the Constitutional standards.

A year after coming into power, in 1969¹⁶⁰ Marcelo Caetano authorized a Public Survey on religious freedom in Portugal as Mário Bacalhau highlights in *Transition of the Political System and Political Attitudes in Portugal*. According to Bacalhau, the Public Survey demonstrated that 80% of the Portuguese people agreed with the statement that “All people have the right to [religious] association”.¹⁶¹

Meanwhile Dom António Ribeiro substituted Cardinal Cerejeira on 13 May, 1971¹⁶² as the new Patriarch, and he (Ribeiro) initiated reforms in the Roman Catholic Church referred to by José Adelino Maltez in *Anuário 1971*.¹⁶³ After Salazar’s death on 27 July, 1970 and Cerejeira’s retirement on 15 May 1971, Caetano developed a liberal attitude towards freedom of religion. Caetano issued Decree No. 3/71 of 16 August, 1971 (*Lei n° 3/71, de 16 de Agosto, 1971*) based on the Public Survey conducted two years earlier. The adoption of the Decree No. 3/71 of 16 August, 1971 required the *Constitutional Revision* promulgated on 16 August, 1971.¹⁶⁴

As a result of the *Constitutional Revision* by Caetano, important sections of the 1933 *Constitution* were reviewed, Jorge Miranda (a constitutional law professor) refers to in an article entitled *Liberdade Religiosa, Igrejas e Estado em Portugal*. Article Forty Five of the *Constitutional Revision of 1971* states,¹⁶⁵ “The State ... decrees freedom of worship and of organization for all religious convictions”,¹⁶⁶ while Article Forty Six was altered to accept other religions apart from the Roman Catholic religion. The 1933 Constitutional text stated that [Roman] Catholicism was the “religion of the Portuguese Nation”¹⁶⁷

160 Information is scarce on this event and no date is provided by source.

161 Bacalhau, Mário, *Transition of the Political System and Political Attitudes in Portugal*, Op. cit.

162 Maltez, José Adelino, *Anuário 1971*, (Information: Professor Catedrático da Universidade Técnica de Lisboa, [Portugal]. <http://maltez.info/>. Accessed on 3 November, 2013).

163 Ibid.

164 *Lei n° 3/71, de 16 de Agosto*, (Legislation: Act No. 3/71, of 16 August, 1971).

165 Original text in Portuguese: “O Estado... declara a liberdade de culto e de organização de todas as confissões religiosas”.

166 Miranda, Jorge, *Liberdade Religiosa, Igrejas e Estado em Portugal*, (Article: Repositório Comum. Fundação Para a Ciência e a Tecnologia. Ministério da Educação e Ciência. Lisboa, Portugal. <http://comum.rcaap.pt/>. Accessed on 3 November, 2013), p. 123.

167 Ibid.

prohibiting other religions while the new *1971 Constitutional Revision* text accepted other religions.¹⁶⁸

As a consequence of the changes of the *Constitution* one of the achievements for religious freedom was the promulgation of *Law No. 4/71 of 21st of August, 1971*¹⁶⁹ (Lei Nº 4/71 de 21 de Agosto de 1971) which was specifically drafted to grant religious freedom and the protection of individuals and of associations of any religious beliefs. The *Act* states,¹⁷⁰

Base I - The State recognize and guarantee the religious freedom of the people and assure to the religious beliefs the adequate legal protection. Base II - 1. The State does not profess any religion and its relations with the religious beliefs are based on the separation regime. 2. The religious confessions have the right to equal treatment, excepting the differences imposed by their diverse representation.¹⁷¹ (Translated from Portuguese).

Although religious freedom was in the process of forming part of the Constitutional text the concept had its limitations and still discriminated against not-Roman Catholic faiths. Constitutionally any other non-Roman Catholic religions were considered as *religious associations*¹⁷² instead of *churches*, a concept that would persist in Portuguese legislation until the promulgation of the 2001 Religious Freedom Act (*Lei nº16/2001 de 22 de Junho de 2001*).¹⁷³ The new legal mindset was in its initial transformation stage and its impact did not gain momentum as rapidly within society and the churches.

However, a year later after the new *Act* on religious freedom was promulgated a joint venture was undertaken in 1972 involving the Roman Catholic Publishing House (Difusora Bíblica)¹⁷⁴ and the Protestant/Evangelical Bible Society (Sociedade Bíblica de Portugal),¹⁷⁵

168 Original text in Portuguese: “[A] religião católica ... [é] qualificada agora como ‘religião tradicional da Nação Portuguesa’, e não já como ‘religião da Nação Portuguesa’”.

169 *Lei n.º 4/71. DG 197/71 SÉRIE I de 1971-08-21, Presidência da República Promulga as bases relativas à liberdade religiosa*, (Legislation: Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda, SA, Morada: Lisboa [Portugal], <http://www.dre.pt/>. Accessed on 20 October, 2013).

170 Original text in Portuguese: “Base I – O Estado reconhece e garante a liberdade religiosa das pessoas e assegura às confissões religiosas a proteção jurídica adequada. Base II – 1. O Estado não professa qualquer religião e as suas relações com as confissões religiosas assentam no regime de separação. 2. As confissões religiosas têm o direito a igual tratamento, ressalvando as diferenças impostas pela sua diversa representatividade.”

171 Caetano, Marcelo, *Lei nº 4/71 de 21 de Agosto*, (Legislation: Diário do Governo, I Série – Número 197. Administração da Imprensa Nacional – Casa da Moeda, Lisboa, [Portugal]. 1971), p. [1193].

172 In the same manner as Fire Departments Associations, or any other type of humanitarian association.

173 *2001 Religious Freedom Act (Lei nº16/2001 de 22 de Junho de 2001)*. (Legislation: AR Assembleia da República online portal. <http://www.parlamento.pt/>. Accessed on 22 June, 2015).

174 *Difusora Bíblica*, (Information: Av. Cons. Barjona de Freitas, 12, 2º, Lisboa, [Portugal]).

175 *Sociedade Bíblica de Portugal*, (Information: Rua José Estêvão 4B Lisbon, Portugal).

which was the beginning of the collaboration between the Roman Catholics and Protestants/Evangelicals to translate the *New Testament* known as The Good News Interconfessional Translation of the New Testament in Portuguese (*Tradução Boa Nova Interconfessional em Português Corrente*), published in 1978. By Dom António Bishop of Porto signing (See Appendix 3) the *New Testament* (the 1978 translation) he acknowledged and endorsed to the Portuguese Roman Catholic world that the *Bible* should be accepted as a sacred book which no longer belonged to the above mentioned Index of Prohibited Books. The Portuguese Bible Society posted on their website that,¹⁷⁶ “In 1972 a team of interfaith scholars was formed and began to translate the *New Testament*, first published in 1978”.¹⁷⁷

Caetano’s final legal contribution to freedom of religion was Decree No. 291/74, of 23 April 1974 (*Portaria n.º 291/74, 23 de Abril*) two day prior to the *coup d’état* on 25 April, 1974 permitting religious workers of all creeds legally registered in the country to enrol in the National Social Security (*Segurança Social*), which states,¹⁷⁸

By this ordinance the framework system is created with immediate effect for Social Security of the diocesan clergy and opens for the voluntary integration of the regular clergy as well of the ministers of various religious convictions legally recognized among us ... provided that such ... is requested by the competent religious entities.¹⁷⁹ (Translated from Portuguese).

Decree No. 291/74 of 23 April, 1974 (*Portaria n.º 291/74, 23 de Abril*) due to be applied on 1 June, 1974 was inactive for almost nine years until the promulgation of the Regulating Decree No. 5/83 of January 31, 1983 (*Decreto Regulamentar n.º 5/83 de 31 de Janeiro, 1983*) because of the *coup d’état* on 25 April, 1974.¹⁸⁰

1.3 THE DEMISE OF THE NEW STATE

The demise of the New State was due to the fact that Caetano was unable to implement the New State’s ideals because of the debilitating effects of the colonial wars on the

176 Original text in Portuguese: “Em 1972 foi constituída uma equipa interconfessional de biblistas que começaram por traduzir o NT [Novo Testamento], publicado pela primeira vez em 1978”.

177 [?], *Tradução Interconfessional*, (Information: Sociedade Bíblica, Lisboa Portugal. <http://www.sociedade-biblica.pt/>. Accessed on 3 November, 2013).

178 Original text in Portuguese: “Pela presente portaria cria-se o sistema de enquadramento imediato, na Previdência, do clero diocesano e abre-se a possibilidade de integração voluntária ao clero regular e a ministros de diversas confissões religiosas legalmente reconhecidas entre nós”.

179 *Portaria n.º 291/74 (Rectificações)*, (Legislation: Diário da República Eletrónico. Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda, SA. Lisboa. [Portugal]. <http://www.dre.pt/>. Accessed on 3 November, 2013).

180 *Decreto Regulamentar n.º 5/83 (Rectificações) de 31 de Janeiro*, (Legislation: Número 25/83 SÉRIE I. Diário da República Eletrónico. Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda. Lisbon, Portugal. <http://www.dre.pt/>. Accessed on 3 November, 2013).

economy as well as the international community's pressure for new policies. In addition, the Armed Forces could not endure the humiliation caused by the lack of legitimacy of the wars as well as the dwindling numbers of eligible young men to join them; instead many of these young men refused to join the Forces and deserted the country. The colonial wars were a matter of national conscience and some Roman Catholic members defiantly expressed their views against the New State.

1.3.1 THE STATE OF THE NATION

Portuguese citizens who had fled the country over the past two decades returned to Portugal with a new vision on how a country should be governed and how its people should live in freedom. They resented the fact that they were forbidden to live in the rich colonies because they were regarded as being too ignorant and too poor where their children were forced to fight and die in the colonial wars. Most citizens could no longer understand why they should send their children to fight and defend the interests of the New State in the colonies where they were not permitted to live nor benefit from the wealth of the colonies. Anecdotal evidence of the duplicity of the New State is obvious in the negative reply given to Silvino da Silva¹⁸¹ by the Portuguese authorities on his request to emigrate with his family to Angola,¹⁸² “Mister, you are short of 2,5 centimetres in height in order to go to Angola”¹⁸³ (loosely translated from Portuguese). The actual reason for this negative reply was that Mr. da Silva was a member of the Assembly of God of Oleiros which was considered enemies of the State. As a result Mr. da Silva fled to France in search of security and employment as did many other Portuguese who showed their opposition to the New State by fleeing the country.

Some of the members of the Armed Forces of the Estado Novo were becoming disillusioned with the regime's preoccupation with a few privileged families who controlled the economy. This disillusionment developed into an uprising of the Armed Forces against the regime,¹⁸⁴ demonstrating their repulsion of the abuse of the totalitarian state according to *A Revolução das Flores: do 25 de Abril ao Governo Provisório* edited

181 This was my beloved late father.

182 Original text in Portuguese: “Senhor, faltam-lhe 2,5 centímetros de altura para poder ir para Angola”.

183 Da Silva, Fernando C., *Telephonic Interview with Maria do Carmo Caldeira Correia*, (Interview: on the 28 December 2009 at 11:43 am. (This lady is the widow of Silvino da Silva and lives in Lugar da Panasqueira, Oleiros, Beira-Baixa. Portugal).

184 These are the dates of such military movements: 3 and 7 of February 1927; 20 of July 1928; 26 of August 1931; 10 of October 1946; first days of April 1947; 8 of October 1949; last days of March 1953; and 1st of January 1962.

by Henrique Barrilaro Ruas.¹⁸⁵ Although there was this growing undercurrent of resentment, there was an appearance that the situation was normal. In this regard Ruas adds that¹⁸⁶ “[The] appearance of normality ... hid a feeling of distrust and frustration”¹⁸⁷ and the regime was actually in demise. In a speech to the Annual Conference of the A.N.P.¹⁸⁸ Caetano stated the *Constitutional Revision of 1971* was the legal basis for the transformation of the Portuguese Empire but he was disappointed by the lack of support from the citizens. Ruas informs that adding to his lack of support Caetano did not understand that the Portuguese¹⁸⁹ “problem was purely political”¹⁹⁰ rather than legal and that it was exacerbated by the¹⁹¹ “growing adverse international pressure”¹⁹² as well as pressure exerted by the United Nations’¹⁹³ *Resolution No. 1514 of the United Nations* on self-determination. Caetano was infuriated by the international pressure as is evident from the following statement,¹⁹⁴

A ‘committee’ of the United Nations, called the 24, which deals with decolonization and so has us continually under heavy fire from their attacks, the repudiation of all that is not the delivery to terrorist movements in the terms envisaged in the famous resolution of the UN No. 1514... And, in the House of Representatives the well-known United States black deputy Mr. Diggs, clearly stated that the federal solution to the [Portuguese] overseas provinces could not be accepted by the United States or by African countries.¹⁹⁵

Caetano’s declining regime was isolated and he subsequently complained about the Governments and Protestant Churches of northern Europe because they opposed his colonial policies.¹⁹⁶ Caetano’s attempt¹⁹⁷ at consolidating the multiracial and religious

185 Ruas, Henrique Barrilaro, Ed., *A Revolução das Flores: Do 25 de Abril ao Governo Provisório*, (Editorial Aster, Lda. Lisboa. [Portugal]. [?]), p. [7].

186 Original text in Portuguese: “[A] aparência da normalidade ... ocultava um sentimento de desconfiança e frustração”.

187 Ruas, Henrique Barrilaro, Ed., *A Revolução das Flores: Do 25 de Abril ao Governo Provisório*, Op. cit., p. 9.

188 The Assembleia Nacional Portuguesa is the National Parliament.

189 Original text in Portuguese: “O problema é puramente político”.

190 Ruas, Henrique Barrilaro, Ed., *A Revolução das Flores: Do 25 de Abril ao Governo Provisório*, Op. cit., p. 11.

191 Original text in Portuguese: “crescente pressão internacional adversa”.

192 Ruas, Henrique Barrilaro, Ed., *A Revolução das Flores: Do 25 de Abril ao Governo Provisório*, Op. cit., p. 13.

193 Ibid.

194 Original text in Portuguese: “Num “comité”, chamado dos 24, das Nações Unidas, que se ocupa da descolonização e por isso nos tem continuamente sob o fogo cerrado dos seus ataques, o repúdio de tudo quanto não seja a entrega aos movimentos terroristas nos termos preconizados na célebre resolução da O. N. U. Nº 1514 ... foi repetidas vezes afirmado: pelo observador do M. P. L. A., pelos delegados da Tanzânia, da Indonésia, da Austrália, da Tunísia, do Congo, da Etiópia... E na Câmara dos representantes dos Estados Unidos o deputado negro Sr. Diggs, bem nosso conhecido, claramente afirmou que a solução federal para as províncias ultramarinas não poderia ser aceite pelos Estados Unidos nem pelos países africanos”.

195 Ruas, Henrique Barrilaro, Ed., *A Revolução das Flores: Do 25 de Abril ao Governo Provisório*, Op. cit., p. 39.

196 Ibid., p. 18.

197 Ibid., p. 14.

societies was not a success because of his preoccupation with maintaining control of the colonies as part of the Portuguese Empire. According to Ruas, Caetano's thought was,¹⁹⁸ "To ensure the respect for individual rights of all *overseas* [my emphasis] population, without discrimination"¹⁹⁹ while not applying the same principle to the citizens in Portugal.

Anecdotal evidence according to *The Sunday Times* (New York) reports²⁰⁰ that Caetano's regime was threatened by social and industrial unrest, civil servants' strikes as well as trouble from the Armed Forces. Martin Kayman points out in *Revolution and Counterrevolution in Portugal*, the crisis of the Estado Novo became evident against all wishes to maintain the old ideology of isolation precisely because Portugal increasingly became dependent on foreign economic aid,

When the economy as a whole came under pressure, these tensions became increasingly irreconcilable. By the time of Salazar's stroke in 1968, it had become clear that fascism had to modernize itself if it were to survive in the post-war world. The old ideology of proud isolation (increasingly a mystification of continued dependence) although it served as a defence against international pressure over colonial wars, had been worn out economically.²⁰¹

Kayman adds that the period prior to the 25 April, 1974 was economically characterized by

Uneven development, trade dependence, the divorce of the domestic market, low wages, high emigration, agricultural stagnation, under-capitalization, inelastic supply, colonial exploitation, speculation, inefficiency, and the habits of a protected and repressive political economy ... [coupled with] internal domestic demand without corresponding production, inflation, an investment crisis and the turn-around in balance of trade.²⁰²

Adding to the above mentioned colonial and economic pressure, new philosophical trends within the Roman Catholic faith emerged.

1.3.2 NEW PHILOSOPHICAL TRENDS FOR THE ROMAN CATHOLIC FAITH

New philosophical trends emerged post Second World War when the need for religious revival became obvious in Europe as well in the rest of the Western World. According to

198 Original text in Portuguese: "Zelar pelo respeito dos direitos individuais de todos os elementos da população do ultramar, sem discriminação".

199 Ruas, Henrique Barrilero, Ed., *A Revolução das Flores: Do 25 de Abril ao Governo Provisório*, Op. cit., p. 15.

200 The Insight Team of the Sunday Times, *Insight on Portugal: The Year of the Captains*, (News report: Times Newspaper Limited. André Deutsch Limited, London. [England]. 1975), pp. 54-44.

201 Kayman, Martin, *Revolution and Counterrevolution in Portugal*, (The Merlin Press Ltd, London, Great Britain. 1974), p. 47.

202 Ibid., pp. 187-188.

Jackson J. Spielvogel in *Glencoe World History* “Many people perceived a collapse in values during the twentieth century [and] ... revival of religion was one response to that collapse”.²⁰³ In Evangelical circles world-wide religious revival had already been sparked by the theologies of “Karl Barth”²⁰⁴ (1886-1968) and “Paul Tillich (1886-1965)”²⁰⁵ as well as within the Roman Roman Catholic Church by Popes “Pius XII”²⁰⁶ (1876-1958) and “John XXIII [(1881-1963)] led to the ecumenical Second Vatican Council”²⁰⁷ (1962-1965)²⁰⁸ which was to promote peace and religious revival. The new philosophical trends as a result of the religious revival influenced the Portuguese society and the staunch Roman Catholics in particular. In addition Pope Paul VI continued the work of his predecessors promoting peace and religious revival within the framework of the Second Vatican Council.

Michael Burleigh in *Sacred Causes: Religion and Politics From the European Dictators to Al Qaeda* claims that as the Second Vatican Council supported Pope Paul VI’s policy against colonialism, this infuriated the Portuguese regime under Salazar. Pope Paul VI condemned “colonialism and imperialism”,²⁰⁹ visited India in 1964 that had “annexed Goa” (former Portuguese colony)²¹⁰ and welcomed to the Vatican “the leaders of anti-Portuguese liberation movements”.²¹¹ The Pope’s actions as well as the documents adopted by the Second Vatican Council had an impact on the formation of the new Portuguese Episcopate’s views regarding national realities, which explains the rapid reaction of the Portuguese Roman Catholic Church to the April 25, 1974 Revolution to be discussed at a later stage in this thesis. According to Ana Carina Azevedo in *Sob*

203 Spielvogel, Jackson J., *Glencoe World History*, (Glencoe/McGraw-Hill, A Division of The McGraw-Hill Companies. Columbus, Ohio. USA. Teacher Wraparound Edition. 2003), p. 892.

204 Ibid.

205 Parrella, Frederick J., *Vida e Espiritualidade no Pensamento de Paul Tillich*, (Article: Universidade Metodista de São Paulo. São Bernardo do Campo. [Brazil]. <http://www.metodista.br/>. Accessed on 19 December, 2013).

206 [?], *Promoting Group of the Movement for a Better World – History*, (Article: Pontifical Council for the Laity, A Dicastery of the Roman Curia at the service of the Laity. Pontifical Council for the Laity, Palazzo San Calisto, Vatican City State. <http://www.laici.va/>. Accessed on 13 December, 2013), p. 1.

207 Bowden, John, Margaret Lydamore, and Hugh Bowden, *A Chronology of World Christianity*, (Continuum, The Tower Building, New York, USA. 2007), pp. 420-422.

208 The religious revival was continued later John Paul II. (Spielvogel, Jackson J., *Glencoe World History*, Op. cit., p. 892.

209 Burleigh, Michael, *Sacred Causes: Religion and Politics From The European Dictators to Al Qaeda*, (Harper Press, An Imprint of Harper Collins Publishers, Hammersmith, London, Great Britain. 2006), p. 369.

210 Ibid.

211 Ibid.

*ventos de mudança: o impacto do Concílio Vaticano II na oposição dos católicos 'progressistas' ao Estado Novo português (1965-1974),*²¹²

The opposition of a [Roman] Catholic sector to the Estado Novo's colonial policy is a matter reasonably studied by Portuguese historiography and on which is found available varied sources. However, to better understand this reality, it is essential to analyze them in the light of the directives of the Second Vatican Council, crossing the most important actions of 'progressive' [Roman] Catholics with new guidance from the Holy See, which in the 1960s and despite the constraints imposed by the regime began to circulate in the Portuguese [Roman] Catholic realms.²¹³

Azevedo adds²¹⁴ that the Second Vatican Council not only transformed the Roman Catholic Church internally but that it also played an important role in the transmission of various new opinions about the problems that affected the world at that time and instigated the priests and above all the Roman Catholic lay people who had the responsibility to convey the Christian values of peace, liberty and respect for humanity. Joaquim Pintassilgo in *Laicidade, Religiões e Educação na Europa do Sul no Século XX* states that during²¹⁵ “the transition from the ‘60s to the ‘70s many sectors of Roman Catholicism were clearly positioning themselves against the regime and the colonial wars”.²¹⁶ Therefore, this prompted the progressive Roman Catholics of the time to increasingly distance themselves from the New State and contributed to the Portuguese Roman Catholic Episcopate of the Metropolis to announce their support of the Revolution on 26 April, 1974 a day after the *coup d'état*. This announcement was made during their regular meeting which was adjourned from 23 to 26 April in Fátima.²¹⁷ This

212 Original text in Portuguese: “A oposição de um sector católico à política colonial do Estado Novo é uma questão razoavelmente estudada pela historiografia portuguesa e sobre a qual encontramos disponíveis variadas fontes. No entanto, para melhor compreender essa realidade, é indispensável analisá-la à luz das diretrizes do Concílio Vaticano II, cruzando as mais importantes ações dos católicos "progressistas" com as novas orientações emanadas da Santa Sé que, na década de 1960, e apesar dos condicionamentos impostos pelo regime, começaram a circular nos meios católicos portugueses. De fato, o Concílio Vaticano II não apenas transformou internamente a Igreja como teve também um papel importante na transmissão de uma série de diretrizes sobre os problemas que, na época, mais afetavam o mundo, incitando a uma tomada de posição por parte dos católicos - ministros ordenados e, sobretudo, leigos -, que tinham a responsabilidade de difundir os valores cristãos da paz, liberdade e respeito pela pessoa humana”.

213 Azevedo, Ana Carina, *Sob ventos de mudança: o impacto do Concílio Vaticano II na oposição dos católicos «progressistas» ao Estado Novo português (1965-1974)*, (Article: HORIZONTE, Belo Horizonte, v. 9, n. 24, p. 1148-1168, fev. 2012. Available: <http://periodicos.pucminas.br/>. Accessed on 19 December, 2103), p. 1149.

214 Ibid.

215 Original text in Portuguese: “Na transição dos anos 60 para os anos 70, sectores diversos do catolicismo vão-se demarcando mais claramente do regime e da guerra colonial”.

216 Pintassilgo, Joaquim, Ed., *Laicidade, Religiões e Educação na Europa do Sul no Século XX*, (Article: Instituto de Educação da Universidade de Lisboa, Alameda da Universidade, 1649-013 Lisboa. [Portugal]. <http://www.ie.ul.pt/>. Accessed on 19 December, 2013), p. 30.

217 Ruas, Henrique Barrilero, Ed., *A Revolução das Flores: Do 25 de Abril ao Governo Provisório*, Op. cit., p. 283.

begs the question whether there was complicity between the progressive Roman Catholics, the Episcopate and the military leading the *coup d'état* for this announcement to be made almost immediately after the *coup d'état*.

Nuno Estêvão states in *Os Meios Católicos Perante a Guerra Colonial* that even if some Roman Catholics were disenchanted with the New State's policies²¹⁸ "The [Roman Catholic] Church was compromised by the State in receiving the allocation of social privileges, school monopolies, as well as with sociological representation, which powerfully increased ... her religious liberties to do what she wanted but also limited her ability for prophetic denunciation".²¹⁹ The disenchanted Roman Catholics meant their Church should prophetically denounce the evils of dictatorship and colonialism of the New State regime according to the Second Vatican Council's decrees. Estêvão points out it was precisely the prophetic voice that those disenchanted Roman Catholics aimed at introducing to their Church in Portugal and their actions threatened the institutional relations between the Roman Catholic Church and the Estado Novo,²²⁰

The institutional relations between the [Roman] Catholic Church and the New State and the extension of civic intervention of Catholics particularly against the Colonial War contributed to accelerate the process of redefining the contours of the religious question.²²¹

Therefore, the Portuguese repressive political system of the New State with its colonial wars to maintain the Empire was unable to overcome the problem posed by the Catholic religious question which implied serious ethical and moral Christian behaviour. Consequently, the New State faced opposition from those Catholic circles for whom an immediate answer to the religious question was an imperative in order to find the solution in their country. The answer should be according to the new religious and philosophical trends proposed by Popes John XXIII and Paul VI to the entire Roman Catholic Church worldwide, which message gained strength by the decrees of the Second Vatican Council. Since the beginning of the 1970s the fundamental thought of Pope Paul

218 Original text in Portuguese: "Uma Igreja comprometida com o Estado – pela atribuição de privilégios sociais, de monopólios escolares, de representação sociológica – como é, ... tem poderosamente limitada a sua liberdade religiosa, a sua capacidade de denúncia profética".

219 Estêvão, Nuno, *Os Meios Católicos Perante a Guerra Colonial*, (Article: Lusitania Sacra, Revista do Centro de Estudos de História Religiosa. Universidade Católica Portuguesa (UCP). Lisboa. [Portugal]. Protestantismo e Catolicismo em Portugal nos Séculos XIX e XX. 2ª Série, Tomo XII. 2000. <http://books.google.co.za/>. Accessed on 23 January, 2014), p. 248.

220 Original text in Portuguese: "As relações institucionais entre a Igreja Católica e o Estado Novo e o alargamento da intervenção cívica dos católicos, particularmente na contestação à Guerra Colonial, contribuíram para acelerar o processo de redefinição dos contornos da questão religiosa".

221 Estêvão, Nuno, *Os Meios Católicos Perante a Guerra Colonial*, Op. cit., p. 249.

VI was consolidated around his predecessor's views as well as on the Second Vatican Council on the need to establish peace.²²² The Pope's thought on peace began to impact the Portuguese staunch Roman Catholics and it required the²²³ "affirmation of citizenship based on the context of secularism"²²⁴ as well as civic intervention. As Estêvão argues,²²⁵ "In certain [Roman] Catholic circles civic intervention occurred in a real and desired context of plurality in which Christian references were located in convergence with other social and political frameworks and not as unique or as holding the absolute truth".²²⁶ In practical terms this meant the intervention of the Roman Catholics in society did not require internal homogeneity and unanimity but within²²⁷ "A framework of diverse perspectives that implied dialogue and the creation of discussion boards".²²⁸ The Pope's thought continued to gain support from the Roman Catholic clandestine publications which circulated in Portuguese society such as the *Direito à Informação* (1963-1969), the *7 Cadernos sobre a Guerra Colonial – Colonialismo e Lutas de Libertação* (1971) and the *Boletim Anticolonial* (1972-1973).²²⁹ The growing Roman Catholic opposition to the policy to maintain the colonial wars in support of the Empire coincided with the Armed Forces' unrest.

1.3.3 THE ARMED FORCES' AND THE ROMAN CATHOLIC BISHOP'S DISSENTION

While there was growing dissention within the Armed Forces as well as within the Episcopate concerning the colonial wars, Caetano enrolled untrained volunteers whom he called "*milicianos*" to replace the dissenting officers in order to continue the colonial wars. The *Sunday Times* (New York) reported that the captains of the Armed Forces felt humiliated by the promotion of the "*milicianos*",²³⁰ "Rebello's Decree ... brought out all the latent hostility of the regular officers regarding the new graduates ... They openly

222 Ibid.

223 Original text in Portuguese: "a afirmação da cidadania a partir de um contexto de laicidade".

224 Estêvão, Nuno, *Os Meios Católicos Perante a Guerra Colonial*, Op. cit.

225 Original text in Portuguese: "Em certos meios católicos, a intervenção cívica ocorria num contexto de pluralidade, real e desejada, e na qual as referências cristãs se situavam em convergência com outros quadros sociais e políticos, e não como exclusivas ou detentoras da verdade absoluta".

226 Estêvão, Nuno, *Os Meios Católicos Perante a Guerra Colonial*, Op. cit.

227 Original text in Portuguese: "num quadro de diversidade de perspectivas, logo de diálogo e de criação de plataformas de debate".

228 Estêvão, Nuno, *Os Meios Católicos Perante a Guerra Colonial*, Op. cit., p. 250.

229 Ibid.

230 The Insight Team of the Sunday Times, *Insight on Portugal: The Year of the Captains*, Op. cit., pp. 31-33.

considered that as a humiliation”.²³¹ On Sunday 9 September, 1973, a hundred and thirty six captains met in Évora to oppose Rebelo’s Decree. In response to that Decree the captains retaliated with a document of mass protest for which they collected a hundred and ninety signatures within a week²³² and called their group Movement of the Armed Forces (Movimento das Forças Armadas – MFA). However, according to the *Sunday Times* (New York) the Government refused to accept the MFA’s complaints and they held a second meeting near Lisbon on 6 October, 1973 which degenerated from a professional protest into a political weapon against the New State.²³³

Adding to the dissention within the Armed Forces there was a growing concern among Roman Catholic Bishops by 1973 because they began to consider the colonial wars as a matter of conscience. The Roman Catholic Church went through a profound shift as a consequence of the Second Vatican Council which had an impact on Portuguese bishops as Luís Salgado de Matos states in *Os Bispos Portugueses: da Concordata ao 25 de Abril – Alguns Aspectos*,²³⁴

After 1940 the Holy See takes a new and consistent attitude in the appointment of bishops to Portugal, Portuguese territories in Africa and the Padroado do Oriente. This approach had two main objectives: to ensure the adequate ecclesial structures were put in place to provide for social development as well as to guarantee the continuity of the independence of those ecclesial structures from the interference of political power. The Vatican's position became increasingly clearer and accurate since the fall of the Nazi regime in 1945 as well as the decline of the Fascist regimes which motivated the Roman Curia to rethink the [Roman] Catholic policies towards a neutral state [such as Portugal] whose political structures had been ... compared to the Axis of defeated powers.²³⁵

A priest by the name of Riccardo Lombardi responded to Pope Pius XII’s radio message’s appeal known as²³⁶ “Proclamation for a Better World”²³⁷ and on 10 February, 1952 he established in Rome the Movement for a Better World. The Movement for a

231 Ibid., p. 33.

232 Ibid., p. 35.

233 Ibid., p. 36.

234 Original text in Portuguese: “A Santa Sé adota, a partir de 1940, uma atitude nova e consistente na nomeação de bispos para Portugal, territórios portugueses de África e Padroado do Oriente. Esta atitude tem dois objetivos essenciais: assegurar a adequação das estruturas eclesiais ao desenvolvimento social e garantir a continuidade da sua independência face ao poder político. A posição do Vaticano torna-se mais clara e rigorosa a partir de 1945. A queda dos regimes nazi e fascista leva a Cúria romana a repensar o seu comportamento para com um Estado neutro cujas estruturas políticas tinham sido ... comparadas com as das potências do Eixo derrotado”.

235 De Matos, Luís Salgado, *Os Bispos Portugueses: Da Concordata ao 25 de Abril – Alguns Aspectos*, (Article: *Análise Social*, Revista do Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade de Lisboa. Lisboa. [Portugal]. Vol. XXIX (125-126), 1994 (1º e 2º), 319-383). <http://analisesocial.ics.ul.pt/>. Accessed on 14 December, 2013), p. 320.

236 [?], *Promoting Group of the Movement for a Better World – History*, Op. cit., p. 1.

237 Ibid.

Better World is based at the Rocca di Papa as part of the Pius XII International Centre which serves as a training centre for community leaders. Strengthened by the Second Vatican Council the Movement for a Better World intensively promoted itself from 1965 to 1975 by developing “courses of study on change, dialogue, secularism, the Church and the people of God and the world [and] ... launched the New Image of the Parish Project”.²³⁸ This New Image of the Parish Project influenced some sectors of the Portuguese Roman Catholic Church which were sensitive to the national and social crisis as well as increasingly inspired by the Holy See’s new polity trends on war and colonialism. Consequently, those Portuguese Roman Catholic sectors²³⁹ “Developed an awareness of the need for intervention in the social fabric”²⁴⁰ as Nuno Estêvão states in *Os Meios Católicos Perante a Guerra Colonial: Reconfigurações da Questão Religiosa em Portugal*.

Roman Catholic individuals and Bishops came to a common understanding with regard to the national political problem and compared their views with the new views of the Holy See as Estêvão points out,²⁴¹ “In Portuguese [Roman] Catholicism the secular and democratic mentality developed in circles of limited size albeit at times with relative social and political impact”.²⁴² The Bishops thought about the national problem against the backdrop of the spiritual renewal that was promoted by the Movement for a Better World which resulted in action against Portuguese colonialism as early as 1958. This is corroborated by Francisco Miguel Gouveia Pinto Proença Garcia in *Análise Global de Uma Guerra (Moçambique 1964-1974)*,²⁴³

The challenge in [Roman] Catholic realms began with Dom Sebastião de Resende the Bishop of the Beira Diocese [in Mozambique]. In his Pastoral letter Mozambique at the Crossroads (*Moçambique na Encruzilhada*) dated 1 December, 1958 Resende was

²³⁸ Ibid.

²³⁹ Original text in Portuguese: “... se desenvolveu a consciência da necessidade de intervenção no tecido social”.

²⁴⁰ Estêvão, Nuno, *Os Meios Católicos Perante a Guerra Colonial: Reconfigurações da Questão Religiosa em Portugal*, Op. cit., p. 224.

²⁴¹ Original text in Portuguese: “... no catolicismo português, esta mentalidade laica e democrática desenvolveu-se em círculos de restrita dimensão, ainda que em certos momentos com relativo impacto social e político”.

²⁴² Estêvão, Nuno, *Os Meios Católicos Perante a Guerra Colonial: Reconfigurações da Questão Religiosa em Portugal*, Op. cit.

²⁴³ Original text in Portuguese: “A contestação nos sectores católicos iniciou-se com o Bispo da Beira, D. Sebastião de Resende. Na sua Pastoral “Moçambique na encruzilhada”, datada de 1 de Dezembro de 1958, é crítico das roturas provocadas entre o homem e a terra, a família e as demais instituições, ou seja, da grave crise social que então se vivia no território...”.

critical of the breach caused between human beings and the land, the family and other institutions, namely causing serious social crisis experienced in the colony.²⁴⁴

Attention should be paid to leading bishops at the time, Dom António Ferreira Gomes the Bishop of Porto (1906-1989) and Dom Manuel da Silva Vieira Pinto²⁴⁵ the Bishop of Nampula (1923-?),²⁴⁶ because at a later stage they opposed Caetano's New State.

Being a thinker, Dom António Ferreira Gomes was devoted to truth and thought and the ethical implications related to its search. He consequently defended human rights with a prophetic tone which began a critical dialogue within the contemporary Portuguese culture that became increasingly conscious of the national problem while stressing the need to change national policies. A documentary was produced by Cátia Aldeagas for the Portuguese National Television (Rádio Televisão Portuguesa – RTP) concerning the political role of Dom António Ferreira Gomes in Portuguese politics. Born in the north, Dom António studied theology in Porto and in Rome and was appointed Bishop of Portalegre – Castelo Branco (1949-1952) where he was appalled by poor economic and social conditions of his parishioners which subsequently altered his political views concerning the country,²⁴⁷ “His sensitivity came from the unjust situation of the Alentejo proletariat ... as well as from the 1958 fraudulent election which changed the history of the country and his own”.²⁴⁸

Appointed Bishop of Porto in 1952 Dom António Ferreira Gomes continued²⁴⁹ “to defend the social doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church until 1958”²⁵⁰ and on 13 July, 1958 he sent a letter to Salazar entitled *Pró-Memória: Carta a Salazar*.²⁵¹ The letter

244 Garcia, Francisco Miguel Gouveia Pinto Proença, *Análise Global de Uma Guerra (Moçambique 1964-1974)*, (Dissertation: Degree of Doctor in History, Universidade Portucalense Infante D. Henrique. Porto. Portugal. Outubro de 2001), p. 53.

245 [?], *D. Manuel da Silva Vieira Pinto*, (Article: Bispos – Bispos Eméritos Residentes na Diocese. Diocese do Porto. Porto. Portugal. <http://www.diocese-porto.pt/>. Accessed on 16 December, 2013).

246 On the date this information was collected Bishop Dom Manuel da Silva Vieira Pinto was still living, residing at the Diocese of Porto.

247 Original text in Portuguese: “A sua sensibilidade vem desde logo ao de cima com a situação do proletariado alentejano.”

248 Aldeagas, Cátia, *António Ferreira Gomes – De joelhos diante de Deus de pé diante dos homens*, (Documentary: Documentários – História. Rádio Televisão Portuguesa 2 (RTP2). First broadcast on 25 April, 2013. <http://www.rtp.pt/>. Accessed on 14 December, 2013).

249 Original text in Portuguese: “... em defesa da doutrina social da Igreja Católica, em 1958”.

250 *D. António Ferreira Gomes*. (Dictionary: Infopédia [Em linha] – Enciclopédia e Dicionários Porto Editora: 2003-2013. Porto, [Portugal]. Sv optics. <http://www.infopedia.pt/>. Accessed on 13 December, 2013).

251 Gomes, D. António Ferreira, *Pró-Memória: Carta a Salazar*, (Letter: Fundação SPES, Casa da Torre da Marca, Porto. [Portugal]. <http://www.fspes.pt/>. Accessed on 14 December, 2013).

was²⁵² “A critique of the political, social and religious situation of the nation and coincided with General Humberto Delgado’s presidential campaign in the same year.²⁵³ In his letter to Salazar, Dom António Ferreira Gomes boldly undermined the collectivist nature of the New State’s regime which negated the right for individuals to be citizens,²⁵⁴

It is clear that the real political problem today is collectivism which involves the relation between the citizen as an individual Person and the State. We cannot ignore this transcendent relationship because it is deeply linked to the doctrine and life of the Church.²⁵⁵

Consequently, Dom António Ferreira Gomes was forced into exile on “24 July, 1959”.²⁵⁶ While in exile, Dom António was called to work at the Vatican and was²⁵⁷ “Appointed by Pope John XXIII as a member of the Pontifical Commission for Ecumenical Studies which had the task to prepare the Second Vatican Council”.²⁵⁸ Pope John XXIII also asked Dom António to establish and coordinate the²⁵⁹ “Diocesan Section of the Pontifical Commission for Justice and Peace”.²⁶⁰ Therefore, Dom António’s involvement with the Pontifical Commission for Ecumenical Studies as well as with the Pontifical Commission for Justice and Peace reshaped his ideas concerning the need for serious ecumenical interaction and the promotion of peace. It is important to note that while Dom António was in exile the Vatican did not substitute him as Bishop of Porto, a position which he only vacated in 1982 as the Diocese of Porto states in their online portal.²⁶¹

Dom António Ferreira Gomes was an outstanding leader in his Diocese of Porto which moulded other bishops related to that Diocese. One of those bishops was Dom Manuel da Silva Vieira Pinto who Dom António sent to Rome from his Diocese of Porto²⁶²

252 Original text in Portuguese: “... uma carta... crítica da situação política, social e religiosa da nação. Consequentemente, foi forçado ao exílio a 24 de julho de 1959”.

253 Aldeagas, Cátia, *António Ferreira Gomes – De joelhos diante de Deus de pé diante dos homens*, Op. cit.

254 Original text in Portuguese: “...é evidente que o problema total de hoje é o do coletivismo, isto é o da relação Pessoa-Estado. Ninguém querará ignorar que nesta relação transcendente está profundamente empenhada a doutrina e a vida da Igreja”.

255 Gomes, D. António Ferreira, *Pró-Memória: Carta a Salazar*, Op. cit., p. 12.

256 D. António Ferreira Gomes. Op. cit.

257 Original text in Portuguese: “... nomeado membro da Comissão Pontifícia de Estudos Ecuménicos para a preparação do Concílio Vaticano II pelo Papa João XXIII”.

258 D. António Ferreira Gomes. Op. cit.

259 Original text in Portuguese: “... Secção Diocesana da Comissão Pontifícia “Justiça e Paz””.

260 D. António Ferreira Gomes. Op. cit.

261 [?], *D. António homenageou antecessores*, (Information: Diocese do Porto online portal, <http://www.diocese-porto.pt/>. Accessed on 17 June, 2015).

262 Portela, Carlos, *O Bispo Resignatário D. Manuel Vieira Pinto, Bispo de Nampula*, (Article: 25 de Abril - Base de Dados Históricos. Pedro Lauret, Prodigentia, Tecnologias de Informação, S.A. Paço D’Arcos – PORTUGAL. <http://www.25abril.org/>. Accessed on 13 December, 2013), p. 1.

specifically to study the Movement for a Better World.²⁶³ Dom Manuel subsequently became the Bishop of Nampula in Mozambique and in January 1974 published a Pastoral Letter entitled Rethinking the War (*Repensar a Guerra*)²⁶⁴ in which he states,²⁶⁵ “This Pastoral Letter ... emerges as a call for peace, development and self-determination of Mozambique”.²⁶⁶ Two months later Dom Manuel wrote another Pastoral Letter entitled Imperative of Conscience (*Imperativo de Consciência*)²⁶⁷ which caused him to be banned from Mozambique by the secret police PIDE/DGS. Nevertheless, Dom Manuel the Bishop of Nampula was not alone in his antagonist position against colonialism and the colonial wars because Dom Francisco Nunes Teixeira the Bishop of the Diocese of Quelimane was also an²⁶⁸ “enemy of the regime”²⁶⁹ as Pedro Ramos Brandão states in *The Roman Catholic Church and the New State: Mozambique 1969/1974 (Igreja Católica e Estado Novo: Moçambique 1969/1974)*.

Amongst the dissenting opinions was the former Governor of Guinea-Bissau General António Sebastião Ribeiro de Spínola who wrote *Portugal and the Future (Portugal e o Futuro)* becoming a key figure of the *coup d'état* on 25 April, 1974.

1.4 PORTUGAL AND THE FUTURE (*PORTUGAL E O FUTURO*), A PROPHETIC BOOK

The MFA was involved in the debate concerning the Portuguese crisis while General António de Spínola took the risk and published²⁷⁰ *Portugal and the Future (Portugal e o Futuro)* on 22 February, 1974 knowing that it was an open confrontation of the dictatorial regime of Marcelo Caetano. The book proved to have a direct result on the *coup d'état* on 25 April since it presented justifications for a profound need for change in the Portuguese national political guidelines. Spínola's book introduced the reader to the

263 [?], *Promoting Group of the Movement for a Better World – History*, Op. cit., p. 1.

264 Garcia, Francisco Miguel Gouveia Pinto Proença, *Análise Global de Uma Guerra (Moçambique 1964-1974)*, Op. cit., p. 168.

265 Original text in Portuguese: “Este documento ... surge como um convite à paz, ao desenvolvimento e à autodeterminação de Moçambique...”.

266 Garcia, Francisco Miguel Gouveia Pinto Proença, *Análise Global de Uma Guerra (Moçambique 1964-1974)*, Op. cit.

267 Portela, Carlos, *O Bispo Resignatário D. Manuel Vieira Pinto – Bispo de Nampula*, Op. cit.

268 Original text in Portuguese: “... inimigo do regime”.

269 Brandão, Pedro Ramos, *Igreja Católica e Estado Novo: Moçambique 1969/1974*, (Article: Revues-Plurielles.org. Paris [France], Latitudes, n° 27 – setembro 2006. <http://www.revues-plurielles.org/>. Accessed on 17 December, 2013), p. 90.

270 The Insight Team of the Sunday Times, *Insight on Portugal: The Year of the Captains*, Op. cit., p. 41.

Portuguese dilemma which was either to continue with the colonial regime where citizens were deprived of their fundamental rights or to change to a democratic regime.

1.4.1 THE PORTUGUESE DILEMMA

In 1968²⁷¹ Caetano appointed General António de Spínola as the Governor of the Province of Guinea-Bissau²⁷² in a move to win the colonial war as mentioned by John Woollacott in *A luta pela libertação nacional na Guiné-Bissau e a revolução em Portugal*. According to Woollacott, Spínola tried to establish political liberalization, social reforms and economic development in the colony²⁷³ and in May 1972 he contacted the rebels known as Partido Africano para a Independência de Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC) for discussions regarding²⁷⁴ “the gradual progress towards the independence of Guinea-Bissau”.²⁷⁵ However, the Governor did not have the support of Caetano²⁷⁶ and so the PAIGC organized elections and constituted a Popular National Assembly (Assembleia Nacional Popular).²⁷⁷

The Assembly’s inaugural session was held on 24 September, 1973 in Medina do Boé and the independence of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau (independência da República da Guiné-Bissau) was proclaimed and soon it was²⁷⁸ “Recognized by ... 70 sovereign States”²⁷⁹ within two weeks of gaining independence. Consequently in November 1973 the United Nations instructed Portugal to put an end to her illegal occupation of the territory of Guinea-Bissau.²⁸⁰ Woollacott argues that²⁸¹ “the defeat of Portuguese colonialism in Guinea-Bissau was absolute on all fronts: military, political and diplomatic”.²⁸² In Woollacott’s opinion the unilateral declaration of independence of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau initiated the military process leading to the formation of the

271 Woollacott, John, *A luta pela libertação nacional na Guiné-Bissau e a revolução em Portugal*, (Article: Análise Social, Revista do Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade de Lisboa. Lisboa. Portugal. Vol. xix (77-78-79). 1983), p. 1135.

272 Today this former Portuguese colonial province is Guiné-Bissau.

273 Woollacott, John, *A luta pela libertação nacional na Guiné-Bissau e a revolução em Portugal*, Op. cit.

274 Original text in Portuguese: “a evolução gradual da Guiné para a independência”.

275 Woollacott, John, *A luta pela libertação nacional na Guiné-Bissau e a revolução em Portugal*, Op. cit., p. 1136.

276 Ibid.

277 Ibid., p. 1137.

278 Original text in Portuguese: “reconhecida por ... 70 Estados soberanos”.

279 Woollacott, John, *A luta pela libertação nacional na Guiné-Bissau e a revolução em Portugal*, Op. cit.

280 Original text in Portuguese: “A derrota do colonialismo português na Guiné foi total ... em todas as frentes: militar, política e diplomática”.

281 Original text in Portuguese: “reconhecida por ... 70 Estados soberanos”.

282 Woollacott, John, *A luta pela libertação nacional na Guiné-Bissau e a revolução em Portugal*, Op. cit.

MFA and the *coup d'état*,²⁸³ “The formation of the Movement of the Captains and the events leading to the *coup d'état* ... were conceived, inspired and organized in Guinea-Bissau”.²⁸⁴

After returning to Lisbon in²⁸⁵ “August 1973”²⁸⁶ Spínola was appointed Vice Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces on 17 January, 1974 while General Costa Gomes was his immediate superior.²⁸⁷ During the months between August 1973 and January 1974 Spínola’s views about the conditions of the Portuguese Empire threw his thoughts into turmoil since Portugal was experiencing one of the most tragic times of her history prior to the *coup d'état*. The collectivist New State survived as a result of the continued exploitation of individuals both in Portugal and the colonies, despite these individuals having no rights and being powerless they still objected to the New State. Spínola was prompted by this situation to write *Portugal and the Future (Portugal e o Futuro)* realising that the dogmatic tendency of the Portuguese politics in support of the Empire had come to an end.²⁸⁸

The dogmas of the time is exceeded, the time we live no longer adheres to causes of temperamental reasons for psychic constraint or social tradition... We no longer live in the days when you could require that the individual would be annulled to give way to the supposedly enlightened collective.²⁸⁹

The colonial wars led Spínola to understand Portugal faced a²⁹⁰ “dilemma”²⁹¹ which was to continue the same New State policies based²⁹² on the “tradition”²⁹³ of dictatorship while the other option was no longer possible because the dictatorship was leading an immobilized regime due to a lack of fresh political ideas to solve the national problem. For that reason Spínola pointed out in his book that the other choice in the dilemma was

283 Original text in Portuguese: “A formação do Movimento dos Capitães e os acontecimentos que conduziram ao golpe ...foi na Guiné que aquela revolta foi concebida, inspirada e organizada”.

284 Woollacott, John, *A luta pela libertação nacional na Guiné-Bissau e a revolução em Portugal*, Op. cit.

285 Original text in Portuguese: “Agosto de 1973”.

286 Woollacott, John, *A luta pela libertação nacional na Guiné-Bissau e a revolução em Portugal*, Op. cit.

287 Ibid., p. 1141.

288 Original text in Portuguese: “O tempo dos dogmas está ultrapassado; na hora que vivemos já não se adere a causas por motivos temperamentais, por condicionalismo psíquico ou por tradição social ... Já não vivemos nos tempos em que podia exigir-se que um indivíduo se anulasse perante um querer coletivo pretensamente iluminado”.

289 Spínola, António de, *Portugal e o Futuro*, (Editora Arcádia SARL, [?], [Portugal]. 1974), pp. 17-23.

290 Original text in Portuguese: “dilema”.

291 Spínola, António de, *Portugal e o Futuro*, Op. cit., pp. 13-15.

292 Original text in Portuguese: “tradição”.

293 Spínola, António de, *Portugal e o Futuro*, Op. cit.

to re-establish the²⁹⁴ “social pact”²⁹⁵ and to give every citizen the²⁹⁶ “right of expression”²⁹⁷ according to personal²⁹⁸ “conscience”.²⁹⁹ Spínola argued that social pressure was mounting and the danger was that it would produce a reactionary spiral of unexpected events leading Portugal to an eventual social³⁰⁰ “revolution”.³⁰¹

1.4.2 SOCIAL PRESSURE AGAINST THE NEW STATE

Spínola viewed the Portuguese society as collectively unhappy and antagonistic towards the New State. They had reached the “end of their tether” because the national obstacles were insurmountable. The citizens were forced to support collectivism although they received no benefits from it, which, according to Spínola, would result in a national crisis, because³⁰² “The antagonism generates reactionary pressure ... [which leads to] revolution”.³⁰³ To obviate the impending national crisis it was obligatory for Portugal to redefine her³⁰⁴ “national strategy”³⁰⁵ in which efforts should be refocused. It was essential that resources be redirected to reorganize the³⁰⁶ “social order”,³⁰⁷ by solving economic, military, political and ideological problems to resolve³⁰⁸ “the national crisis”.³⁰⁹ Post Second World War gave rise to a new worldview which Spínola refers to as the “dominant international moral”.³¹⁰ The Portuguese became aware of this different concept of life and the new worldview that led to dissention against the New State.

Spínola states that symbolically dissention was already being expressed by institutions such as the³¹¹ “[Roman Catholic] Church and the Military Institution”³¹² and the most

294 Original text in Portuguese: “pacto social”.

295 Spínola, António de, *Portugal e o Futuro*, Op. cit., p. 23.

296 Original text in Portuguese: “pleno direito de expressão”.

297 Spínola, António de, *Portugal e o Futuro*, Op. cit.

298 Original text in Portuguese: “consciência”.

299 Spínola, António de, *Portugal e o Futuro*, Op. cit.

300 Original text in Portuguese: “consciência”.

301 Spínola, António de, *Portugal e o Futuro*, Op. cit.

302 Original text in Portuguese: “O antagonismo gera a pressão reacionária ... [que resulta em] revolução”.

303 Spínola, António de, *Portugal e o Futuro*, Op. cit., p. 30.

304 Original text in Portuguese: “estratégia nacional”.

305 Spínola, António de, *Portugal e o Futuro*, Op. cit., p. 37.

306 Original text in Portuguese: “ordem social”.

307 Spínola, António de, *Portugal e o Futuro*, Op. cit.

308 Original text in Portuguese: “a crise nacional”.

309 Spínola, António de, *Portugal e o Futuro*, Op. cit.

310 Spínola, António de, *Portugal e o Futuro*, Op. cit., pp. 50-54.

311 Original text in Portuguese: “a Igreja [Católica Romana] e a Instituição Militar”.

serious Portuguese social problems were identified by Spínola as related to the two institutions. The Roman Catholic Church and the Armed Forces did not accept the fact that the Portuguese were prevented from being³¹³ “true citizens”,³¹⁴ proceeding towards national crisis with the pronouncement of inevitable³¹⁵ “change”.³¹⁶ A new political age was approaching which implied the necessity to preserve true national values but also required the search for alternative ways to solve the national problem.³¹⁷

1.4.3 THE SOLUTION TO THE NATIONAL PROBLEM

Western meaning and values changed as a consequence of the First and Second World Wars. An international constructive attitude was being expressed through³¹⁸ “the United Nations as a sincere desire for a new era for humanity”,³¹⁹ which the Portuguese Empire had to adopt as a member state. Human rights should be upheld by the Portuguese Empire, including³²⁰ “one man, one vote”,³²¹ as the simple formula to translate the moral imperative corresponding to the rights and duties of citizens.³²² Spínola recommended that Portugal give independence to the colonies and move towards its integration in the European Economic Community (EEC). After the two World Wars two super-powers emerged, namely the USA and the USSR that superseded the European imperialist countries giving rise to the creation of a new Era referred to as³²³ “a post-European civilization”.³²⁴ A post-European civilization required Europeans to unite to ensure their economic survival, their political independence as well as the international expression of true European civilization, culture and way of life.³²⁵

312 Spínola, António de, *Portugal e o Futuro*, Op. cit.

313 Original text in Portuguese: “cidadãos de facto”.

314 Spínola, António de, *Portugal e o Futuro*, Op. cit.

315 Original text in Portuguese: “mudanças”.

316 Spínola, António de, *Portugal e o Futuro*, Op. cit., pp. 66-70.

317 Ibid.

318 Original text in Portuguese: “o desejo sincero de uma era nova para a Humanidade”.

319 Spínola, António de, *Portugal e o Futuro*, Op. cit., pp. 78-79.

320 Original text in Portuguese: “um homem – um voto”.

321 Spínola, António de, *Portugal e o Futuro*, Op. cit.

322 Ibid.

323 Original text in Portuguese: “a da civilização pós-europeia”.

324 Spínola, António de, *Portugal e o Futuro*, Op. cit., pp. 82-83.

325 Ibid.

Spínola argues that the ‘way forward’ was to integrate Portugal into the³²⁶ “European Common Market”³²⁷ as soon as possible because³²⁸ “If life is indeed a succession of convictions, history is no less and as such what yesterday was the collective ideal for a people, today it may not be so”.³²⁹ The era of feudal and imperial ideals had given way to³³⁰ “the era of the consecration of human dignity”³³¹ and so the rigid norms of the so-called³³² “permanent realities”³³³ of the Portuguese history were viewed by Spínola as³³⁴ “characteristics of senility”.³³⁵ Therefore, the Portuguese collective goal should be³³⁶ “to live in obedience to the principles of social justice and unequivocal human dignity”³³⁷ which implied the urgent need to³³⁸ “engage in dismantling the myths”³³⁹ and in modifying the country³⁴⁰ “in accordance with the spirit of a new *Constitution*”.³⁴¹ However, the above measures should be undertaken according to the³⁴² “new understanding of a world increasingly subject to the law of the internationalization of national problems”.³⁴³ Consequently, Spínola did not see another way to solve the national crisis apart from the adoption of a new regime based on a new *Constitution*³⁴⁴ that would grant rights and duties to every citizen.³⁴⁵

Interestingly enough some days prior to the publication of Spínola’s book the Defence Minister Silva Cunha received a copy of it and authorized its publication, probably based on the positive assessment of the Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces General Costa

326 Original text in Portuguese: “Mercado Comum Europeu”.

327 Spínola, António de, *Portugal e o Futuro*, Op. cit., p. 86.

328 Original text in Portuguese: “Se a vida é de facto uma sucessão de convicções, a História não o é menos; e, como tal, o que ontem foi para um povo o seu ideal coletivo, hoje pode não o ser”.

329 Spínola, António de, *Portugal e o Futuro*, Op. cit., p. 113.

330 Original text in Portuguese: “a era da consagração da dignidade humana”.

331 Spínola, António de, *Portugal e o Futuro*, Op. cit., p. 116.

332 Original text in Portuguese: “pretensas “realidades permanentes””.

333 Spínola, António de, *Portugal e o Futuro*, Op. cit.

334 Original text in Portuguese: “são características de senilidade”.

335 Spínola, António de, *Portugal e o Futuro*, Op. cit., pp. 123-124.

336 Original text in Portuguese: “vivendo na obediência a princípios de inequívoca justiça social e de dignificação humana”.

337 Spínola, António de, *Portugal e o Futuro*, Op. cit.

338 Original text in Portuguese: “nos empenhemos na desmontagem dos mitos”.

339 Spínola, António de, *Portugal e o Futuro*, Op. cit., p. 125.

340 Original text in Portuguese: “em conformidade com o espírito da Constituição”.

341 Spínola, António de, *Portugal e o Futuro*, Op. cit., p. 130.

342 Original text in Portuguese: “novas perspectivas de compreensão por parte de um mundo cada vez mais submetido à lei da internacionalização dos problemas nacionais”.

343 Spínola, António de, *Portugal e o Futuro*, Op. cit., p. 143.

344 Ibid., p. 198.

345 Ibid., p. 172.

Gomes. Caetano also read the book and authorized its publication understanding that a *coup d'état* was imminent and inevitable as corroborated in *Insight on Portugal: The Year of the Captains*,

On 18 February, [1974 Caetano said,] I received a copy of *Portugal and the Future* with a kind dedication from the author ... I managed to ... read ... it. When I closed the book I had understood that the military coup [d'état], which I could sense had been coming, was now inevitable.³⁴⁶

Spínola's book was prophetic in the sense that it highlighted the national problem and gave a solution to it which came to pass in just two months. As the Brazilian politician Carlos Lacerda states,³⁴⁷ "What happened in Portugal was easy to predict by anyone who had read the book entitled Portugal and the Future (*Portugal e o Futuro*) written by General António de Spínola".³⁴⁸

1.5 SUMMARY OF CHAPTER ONE

This Chapter provided a brief historical overview of the New State (Estado Novo), the decline of the New State and the future of Portugal as described by Spínola. The Second Republic and its Prime Minister Salazar are discussed as well as the *1933 Constitution*, the *1940 Concordat* and the *1966 Civil Code*. Subsequently, the alliance between Salazar and Cardinal Cerejeira was examined with their intention of guiding Portugal back to fascist ideology. As chief of the Portuguese Roman Catholic Church Cerejeira used the media to his benefit and his mission was to promote fundamental Roman Catholicism from 1933.

A brief overview of the New State followed where Salazar suppressed all political parties as well as free trade unions. Many citizens suffered in this New State under Salazar's rule of police and censorship. Dissidents were sent to political prison in Tarrafal Cape Verde. Salazar opposed democratic thought and individual freedom. According to the *1933 Constitution* it was illegal for any citizen to practice any religion other than Roman Catholicism. As the result of pressure from the international community, the Vatican as well as internal opposition the New State began to decline, this is covered in depth in this chapter. There was general opposition to the New State and with the founding of the

³⁴⁶ The Insight Team of the Sunday Times, *Insight on Portugal: The Year of the Captains*, Op. cit., p. 42.

³⁴⁷ Original text in Portugal: "O ocorrido em Portugal era fácil de prever por qualquer pessoa que tivesse lido o livro do general António de Spínola, 'Portugal e o Futuro'".

³⁴⁸ Ruas, Henrique Barrilero, Ed., *A Revolução das Flores: Do 25 de Abril ao Governo Provisório*, Op. cit., p. 157.

United Nations in 1945 international pressure mounted changing the world view on colonialism, including Portuguese colonialism as discussed above.

A discussion on the opposition of Protestants, Evangelicals and Pentecostals to the New State is presented in an in-depth analysis below. The *1966 Civil Code* was discussed because it opposed human rights. Caetano's rule known as evolution in continuity came under scrutiny as well as the demise of the New State. This led to a discussion of the state of the Portuguese nation and new philosophical trends for the Roman Catholic faith ignited by the Second Vatican Council. This is followed by a presentation on the Armed Forces and the Roman Catholic's dissention which led to a discussion on Portugal and the future. The Portuguese dilemma and social pressure against the New State was dealt with in detail and the solution to the national problem was covered.

The next chapter, Chapter Two, presents a discussion of the period of the redefinition of the regime (1974-1976) known as the Ongoing Revolutionary Process (Período Revolucionário em Curso – PREC). The 25 April, 1974 *coup d'état* and Revolution will be covered as well as a discussion of democracy and the *1976 Constitution*. The period from 25 April 1974 to the *1976 Constitution* is a significant period in Portuguese history which will be scrutinized in Chapter Two.

CHAPTER 2

THE *PREC* – THE PERIOD OF REDEFINITION OF THE PORTUGUESE REGIME (1974-1976)

In this chapter the redefinition of the regime will be discussed. Initially the ‘Order System Operation’ (Operação Fim-Regime) and the 1974 Revolution will come under scrutiny followed by a discussion of democracy, the *1976 Constitution* and religious freedom. Thereafter, an in-depth analysis of social transformation that permitted religious proliferation is presented. The 1974 *coup d’état* was a major Twentieth Century event in Portuguese history and it was a promise of liberty for all areas of life. It is known in Portuguese history as “The Revolution”; “The Revolution of the Carnations”; or, simply as the “25 April”. The 1974 *coup d’état* broke the historical bonds between the Portuguese State and the Roman Catholic Church and resulted in fundamental alterations of the guidelines for social interaction in an atmosphere of liberty, paving the way for freedom of religion, freedom of expression and freedom of association. On 25 April, 1974 a *coup d’état* initiated a Revolution in Portugal that impacted and altered the political system and established a democratic regime. As suggested by Chilcote³⁴⁹ the period from the 25 April, 1974 to the promulgation of the *1976 Constitution* is known in Portuguese history as the Ongoing Revolutionary Period (Período Revolucionário Em Curso – *PREC*).

2.1 THE “ORDER SYSTEM OPERATION” AND THE 1974 REVOLUTION

A *coup d’état* on 25 April, 1974 was the cause of a Revolution in Portugal that influenced and transformed the political order and consequently established a democratic regime. The *coup d’état* was a military operation called “Order System Operation” (Operação Fim-Regime) as José Medeiros Ferreira states in *Ensaio Histórico Sobre a*

³⁴⁹Chilcote, Ronald H., *The Portuguese Revolution: State and Class in the Transition to Democracy*, (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, United Kingdom. 2010), pp. 240-241.

Revolução do 25 de Abril,³⁵⁰ which paved the way for freedom and human rights including religious freedom to flourish resulting in the proliferation of various religious denominations.

2.1.1 THE IMPACT OF THE *COUP D'ÉTAT* ON FREEDOM AND HUMAN RIGHTS

The events related to the *coup d'état* and their historical significance are essential for the discussion of this thesis because they explain the political and social transformation experienced in Portuguese recent history. Therefore, the 25 April, 1974 related events and their historical meaning will be addressed which includes a brief history of the *coup d'état* and the promises of democracy made by its leaders known as Captains of April (Capitães de Abril).

The 1974 Revolution initiated by the *coup d'état* profoundly altered the political and legal system in the country and established a democracy in which the rights of the citizen are respected. The Captains of the Movement of the Armed Forces (Movimento das Forças Armadas – MFA) involved in the 1974 *coup d'état* promised to grant human rights and liberty to the citizens. In June 1973 the military gathered in Porto to hold the Congress of the Combatants (Congresso dos Combatentes) to discuss the negative effects of the never ending Colonial Wars on Portuguese society,

Officers who returned from the colonial war in Guinea-Bissau ... expressed their displeasure with the resolutions [of] the Government ... [which they tried to present] at a meeting of junior and middle-level officers in the Congress of Combatants held at Porto in June 1973. Denied the opportunity of attending the meeting, more than four hundred of these officers distributed a petition stating that [those participating] should regard [as] invalid any motions passed at the congress.³⁵¹

Chilcote explains that the army's officers not permitted to attend the meeting were mainly Captains in whose opinion Portugal's national policy was discredited nationally and internationally due to the "rupture of the Portuguese ties with the Third World and the collapse of the country's historical tradition of empire and colonies".³⁵² The real problem was based on two sources, one being that the colonial empire had "primarily

350 Ferreira, José Medeiros, *Ensaio Histórico Sobre a Revolução do 25 de Abril: O Período Pré-Constitucional*, (Temas Portugueses. Co-edição I.N.C.M. – S.R.E.C. da Região Autónoma dos Açores. Gráfica Maiadouro – Vila da Maia. Imprensa Nacional – Casa da Moeda. Lisboa. Portugal. Março de 1983), p. 17.

351 Chilcote, Ronald H., *The Portuguese Revolution: State and Class in the Transition to Democracy*, Op. cit., p. 89.

352 Ibid, pp. 90-91.

benefited a small cluster of family monopolies in the metropolis”³⁵³ and the other was “the fragmentation of the supportive institutions of the dictatorship, especially the military and [the Roman Catholic] Church”.³⁵⁴ Consequently, the Captains that could not participate in the Congress revolted and on 24 September, 1973 a meeting was held at Casa da Cerca in S. Pedro do Estoril in which the Tenant-Colonel Luís Banazol³⁵⁵ proposed a *coup d’état* to overthrow the regime. The Movement of the Armed Forces (Movimento das Forças Armadas – MFA) was initiated and in their opinion³⁵⁶ “armed action was inevitable”³⁵⁷ as Aníbal Barreira and Mendes Moreira state in *25 de Abril: A Viragem*. Michael Harsgor also adds in *32: The Washington Post, Portugal in Revolution* that the³⁵⁸ Movement of the Armed Forces (MFA) intended for a truthful and effective revolution, “The rebel officers meant it to be not an inner struggle of the ruling class, but an enterprise destined to put an end to the colonial wars and to change the structure of Portuguese society”.³⁵⁹ Consequently, on 25 April, 1974 the New State was replaced by a *coup d’état* resulting a democratic regime in Portugal.

Captain Salgueiro Maia occupied ‘down town’ Lisbon with his tanks and soldiers and forced Caetano to surrender to General António de Spínola. A Junta of National Salvation (Junta de Salvação Nacional – JSN) was established with Spínola as its chairman,³⁶⁰ which appointed a Provisional Government, nominated Spínola as President of the Republic and promised free general elections to form a Constituent Assembly to work on a new *Constitution*. Meanwhile, on the same day a Revolution originated from the *coup d’état* according to John Woollacott in *A luta pela libertação nacional na Guiné-Bissau e a revolução em Portugal*,³⁶¹

353 Ibid.

354 Ibid., p. 94.

355 Lauret, Pedro, Ed., *Reunião do Movimento dos Capitães na Casa da Cerca em S. Pedro do Estoril – 24 de Setembro de 1973*, (Article: 25 de Abril, Base de Dados Históricas. Associação 25 de Abril, Lisboa. [Portugal]. <http://www.25abril.org/>. Accessed on 17 November, 2013), p. 1.

356 Original text in Portuguese: “... seria inevitável a ação armada”.

357 Barreira, Aníbal, e Mendes Moreira, *25 de Abril: A Viragem*, (Edições ASA. Alfragide, Portugal. <http://www.asa.pt/>. Blog – Sinais da História 9, ASA. <http://blogs.asa.pt/>. Accessed on 13 December, 2013), p. 4.

358 Original text in Portuguese: “Movimento das Forças Armadas”.

359 Harsgor, Michael, *32: The Washington Papers, Portugal in Revolution*, (SAGE Publishing, Inc., Beverly Hills, California. USA. 1976), p. 21.

360 Woollacott, John, *A luta pela libertação nacional na Guiné-Bissau e a revolução em Portugal*, Op. cit., p.1141.

361 Original text in Portuguese: “Na própria tarde do 25 de Abril, o golpe deu origem a uma revolução, a uma explosão popular que radicalizou profundamente a natureza e o alcance da transformação política que se seguiu em Portugal, que pôs em causa totalmente as bases da sociedade capitalista criada por Salazar, destabilizando por completo o Estado Português”.

During the afternoon of 25 April, 1974 a revolution originated from the *coup d'état*, a popular explosion that profoundly radicalized the nature and the broadly extended political transformation that followed in Portugal, which questioned all the bases of the capitalist and authoritarian society created by Salazar which completely destabilized the Portuguese State.³⁶²

The popular explosion was expressed by manifestations of joy amongst the Portuguese regardless of where they lived because of the promises of freedom and democracy made by the Captains of the *coup d'état*. Both in Portugal and abroad the Portuguese rejoiced because the *coup d'état* and the Revolution that followed, as Henrique Ruas states in *A Revolução das Flores: Do 25 de Abril ao Governo Provisório*,³⁶³ “Demonstrations of enthusiasm, that greeted the victory of the rebels in Lisbon and Porto allowed to foretell in what direction General Spínola would discourse”.³⁶⁴ The Portuguese community in South Africa³⁶⁵ “...took to the street shouting «Viva Portugal! Viva South Africa!» and sent a telegram in support of the program of the JSN [Junta of National Salvation] and to General Spínola”.³⁶⁶ Ruas adds that the same scenes of jubilation were experienced in Lourenço Marques when people became aware of the news (*Tribuna*).³⁶⁷

While the Portuguese manifested joy the MFA freed all political prisoners, abolished censorship and prior examination of anything published and created the conditions for free popular expression and individual freedom.³⁶⁸ In addition, the MFA promoted³⁶⁹ “the formation of civic associations with the aim to polarize trends and facilitate free election by direct suffrage”,³⁷⁰ as Ruas points out. Portugal was experiencing the initial phase of a profound change which included freedom of religion for all. The initial motives for the *coup d'état* included religious freedom according to the Programme of the MFA for the 25 April (*Programa do MFA 25 de Abril*) which was the *manifesto* drafted by Captain Melo Antunes and stated,³⁷¹ “After thirteen years of struggle in

362 Woollacott, John, *A luta pela libertação nacional na Guiné-Bissau e a revolução em Portugal*, Op. cit., pp. 1143-1144.

363 Original text in Portuguese: “as manifestações de entusiasmo, que em Lisboa e no Porto saudaram a vitória dos rebeldes”.

364 Ruas, Henrique Barrilaro, Ed., *A Revolução das Flores: Do 25 de Abril ao Governo Provisório*, Op. cit., p. 163.

365 Original text in Portuguese: “... vieram para a rua gritar Viva Portugal! Viva a África do Sul e enviaram um telegrama de apoio ao programa da J.S.N. e ao general Spínola ”.

366 Ruas, Henrique Barrilaro, Ed., *A Revolução das Flores: Do 25 de Abril ao Governo Provisório*, Op. cit., p. 173.

367 Ibid., p. 162.

368 Ibid., p. 107.

369 Original text in Portuguese: “em ordem a acelerar a constituição de associações cívicas que hão de polarizar tendências e facilitar a livre eleição, por sufrágio direto”.

370 Ruas, Henrique Barrilaro, Ed., *A Revolução das Flores: Do 25 de Abril ao Governo Provisório*, Op. cit., p. 110.

371 Original text in Portuguese: “Ao fim de treze anos de luta em terras do ultramar, o sistema político vigente não conseguiu definir, concreta e objectivamente, uma política ultramarina que conduza à paz entre os Portugueses de todas as raças e credos”.

overseas lands, the current political system could not define specifically and objectively, an overseas policy leading to peace between the Portuguese of all races and **creeds** [my emphasis]”.³⁷² The MFA *manifesto* stated,³⁷³

The Interim Government, bearing in mind that the major reforms background may only be adopted in the framework of future National Constituent Assembly, decides to immediately promote the following: a) The implementation of measures to guarantee ... the future effective exercise of political freedom of citizens; b) The freedom of assembly and association...; c) The freedom of thought and expression in any way.³⁷⁴

Religious freedom was to be for all Portuguese citizens as corroborated by Hugo Gil Ferreira and Michael W. Marshall in *Portugal's Revolution: ten years on*³⁷⁵ as well as by Major Melo e Sousa who was one of the Captains of the *coup d'état* interviewed (*Interview 1*, See Interviews Conducted),³⁷⁶

There was no religious freedom for everybody in Portugal. This is well known by our own generation. Therefore, we aimed at delivering freedom to the people. But, to implement a democracy in Portugal we did not truly know at that time what type of democracy would result from our efforts, isn't it? Therefore, by implementing democracy I think freedom of expression in religious terms was included as well.³⁷⁷

The transformation of the dictatorial regime into a democracy was a radical experiment in which the MFA faced challenges in implementing its promises.

2.1.2 THE RADICAL EXPERIMENT AND STRUGGLE FACED BY THE MFA TO IMPLEMENT ITS PROMISES

The Revolution aimed at giving freedom and at elevating the Portuguese to their rightful position as citizens. However, from 1974 to 1976 it became a radical experiment which posed social, political and military problems as the MFA struggled to implement its promises.

372 Antunes, Melo, *Programa do MFA 25 de Abril*, (Document: Universidade de Coimbra. Palácio dos Grilos, Coimbra Portugal. Centro de Documentação 25 de Abril. <http://www1.ci.uc.pt/>. Accessed on 15 January, 2014), p. 2.

373 Original text in Portuguese: “5 – O Governo Provisório, tendo em atenção que as grandes reformas de fundo só poderão ser adotadas no âmbito da futura Assembleia Nacional Constituinte, obrigar-se-á a promover imediatamente: a) A aplicação de medidas que garantam ... o futuro exercício efetivo da liberdade política dos cidadãos; b) A liberdade de reunião e de associação. ... c) A liberdade de expressão e pensamento sob qualquer forma”.

374 Antunes, Melo, *Programa do MFA 25 de Abril*, Op. cit., p. 3.

375 Ferreira, Hugo Gil, and Michael W. Marshall, *Portugal's Revolution: ten years on*, (Cambridge University Press, University Printing House, Cambridge, United Kingdom. 1986), p. 252.

376 Original text in Portuguese: “A gente era para entregar a liberdade ao povo. Ok! E implementar uma democracia em Portugal que não sabíamos naquela altura verdadeiramente que moldes de democracia é que ia sair, não é? Portanto, ao implementar a democracia penso que a liberdade de expressão em termos religiosos era para todos”.

377 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 1 – with Major Melo e Sousa – Captain of the April 25*, (Interview conducted at Inhassoro, Mozambique, on 7 October, 2010), p. 1.

2.1.2.1 The struggle for freedom and decolonization

From 1974 to 1976 the PREC was a radical experiment with the intention to “guarantee freedom ... and to defend the interests of the working class”³⁷⁸ as Stewart Lloyd-Jones states in *Portugal's history since 1974*. However, Jones highlights, “Divisions within Portugal's military institutions emerged almost immediately following the collapse of the dictatorship in April 1974”³⁷⁹ concerning the “MFA[’s] ... program”.³⁸⁰ Consequently, in *Portuguese Exceptionalism and the Return to Europe: the 25 April 1974 Coup and Democratization, 1974-2010* Paul Christopher Manuel points out that “the MFA divided into four main ideological factions”.³⁸¹ One faction favoured a Western social democracy, another faction wanted a Communist model, a third faction preferred a Cuban-style state, and the fourth preferred the reform of the pre-existing authoritarian model. Nonetheless, Martin Kayman states in *Revolution and Counter-revolution in Portugal* that “The collapse of a monopoly ... artificially maintained by force ... left no developing informal organic structure which could take its place in either the political or the economic sphere”.³⁸² Consequently, the days following the *coup d'état* led to the raising of the Portuguese Communist Party (Partido Comunista Português – PCP) which tried to appropriate the efforts of the MFA as Harsgor states,

The sensation of the first days after Caetano's overthrow was the discovery of a strong and active Communist Party [PCP], after some 48 years of underground existence... The PCP members suddenly emerged ... [and] seemed to be the only Portuguese to know exactly what they wanted in a society “depoliticized” by the long reign of Salazar.³⁸³

The PCP adopted a tactic that was to appear in the eyes of the public as the third component of the ongoing revolutionary process composed by the MFA, the People and the PCP as backing the “the heroic MFA captains”³⁸⁴ and in support of the “people”.³⁸⁵ 1 May, 1974 was a historical moment for the Portuguese people who celebrated Workers’

378 Lloyd-Jones, Stewart, *Portugal's history since 1974*, (Paper: CPHRC Working Papers, Series 2, Number 1, ISCTE Lisbon.

[Portugal]. November 2001. <http://www1.ci.uc.pt/>. Accessed on 24 February, 2014), p. 3.

379 Ibid.

380 Ibid.

381 Manuel, Paul Christopher, *Portuguese Exceptionalism and the Return to Europe: the 25 April 1974 Coup and Democratization, 1974-2010*, (Paper: Center for European Studies Working paper Series No. 175 (2010). Affiliate, Center for European Studies, Harvard University. Research Fellow, Berkley Center for Religion, Peace and World Affairs, Georgetown University. Washington, USA. 2010. <http://aei.pitt.edu/>. Accessed on 17 February, 2014), p. 2.

382 Kayman, Martin, *Revolution and Counterrevolution in Portugal*, Op. cit., p. 187.

383 Harsgor, Michael, 32: *The Washington Papers, Portugal in Revolution*. Op. cit., p. 23.

384 Ibid., p. 25.

385 Ibid.

Day for the first time in history and a massive rally was organized in Lisbon. The PCP opposed to the rally and attempted to boycott it by barricading streets in order to prevent people from participating in the rally, since it was organized by other political parties than the PCP. The rally was organized by the leaders of three emerging political parties in the new democratic dispensation which were the Socialist Party (Partido Socialista – PS), the Democratic Popular Party (Partido Popular Democrático – PPD) and the Social Democratic Centre (Centro Democrático Social – CDS). What the PCP did not anticipate was that with the support of the Cardinal Patriarch, Roman Catholics formed a large proportion of the participants at the rally that supported this political public meeting. Therefore, an immense crowd led by the combined participation of the leaders of relevant political parties helped the rally to establish the basic guidelines for a multiparty system. The most important speech that was delivered at the gathering was that of Dr Mário Soares who openly defied the Communists,³⁸⁶

Comrades! It was worth fighting, it was worth having suffered to attend this rally. On 25 April, the armed forces overthrew the fascist and colonialist government of Marcelo Caetano, but it was today, it was here that we overcame fascism. This victory does not belong to anyone in particular; it belongs to the Portuguese people... Fascism was defeated on the day we settled the D. G. S. and abolished censorship, but now the difficulties begin.³⁸⁷

Determined to transform the Revolution into a Communist cause the PCP tried to gain rapid control of the country by infiltrating the State apparatus, manipulating the media and promoting mass indoctrination and mobilization.³⁸⁸ According to Harsgor, the PCP leader Álvaro Barreirinhas Cunhal and Prime Minister Vasco dos Santos Gonçalves of the MFA were of the opinion that the multiparty system was not in their best Communist interests,

If the MFA wanted to rule in relative tranquillity, it would have to scrap party system altogether. The PCP ... was also eager to have the party system abolished... [Therefore], until the eve of the elections, Cunhal and his newspaper *Avante!* attacked the “brotherly” Socialist Party for its alleged weakness ... [considering it] a reactionary force.³⁸⁹

However, the MFA had promised free and fair elections within one year from the 25 April, 1974 and they were determined to uphold the promise despite the PCP’s determination not to have elections, and this resulted in mounting political tension and

386 Original text in Portuguese: “Camaradas! Valeu a pena ter lutado, valeu a pena ter sofrido, para assistir a esta festa. No dia 25 de Abril as Forças Armadas destituíram o governo fascista e colonialista de Marcelo Caetano, mas foi hoje, foi aqui que nós destituímos o fascismo. Essa vitória não é de ninguém, é do povo português... O fascismo foi vencido no dia em que foi liquidada a D. G. S. e abolida a censura, mas agora [vão] começar as dificuldades”.

387 Ruas, Henrique Barrilero, Ed., *A Revolução das Flores: Do 25 de Abril ao Governo Provisório*, Op. cit., p. 189.

388 Harsgor, Michael, 32: *The Washington Papers, Portugal in Revolution*. Op. cit., p. 26.

389 Ibid., pp. 70-71.

social turmoil from 1974 to 1976. While the PCP tried their best “to mould the Portuguese path to socialism”³⁹⁰ the PPD, the CDS and the PS campaigned for the establishment of a multiparty system³⁹¹ in Portugal as described by Harsgor,

Censorship activities and the attempts of the military to stifle the liberty of the press during the summer of 1974 were considered by the PS as PCP inspired, the socialist position started to take shape.³⁹²

Harsgor highlights the fact that Dr Mário Soares openly accused the Communist leader Cunhal, of being anti-democratic because he wanted to establish a Stalinist popular regime in Portugal which was another type of dictatorship,

The PS leaders reacted by accusing Cunhal and his friends of being inconsistent with democratic beliefs. The socialists charged the PCP with working to establish a Stalinist people’s democracy, complete with political censorship, secret police, and an imprisoned opposition. The PS adopted the slogan ‘Socialism yes – dictatorship no!’ which proved itself well suited to the feelings of the general public.³⁹³

Chilcote states that as political uncertainty continued “The tensions between right and left may have been responsible for MFA’s caution, moderation, and even indecision”³⁹⁴ on how to handle the first free election.

2.1.2.2 The first free and fair election in 1975

The MFA fulfilled their promise to provide a free and fair election in one year after the *coup d’état* which took place on 25 April, 1975 but both the MFA and PCP hoped that the Portuguese would abstain from voting. The electoral campaign reflected the tensions and the uncertainty experienced in the past months in which the PS, the PPD and the CDS campaigned asking voters to choose a multiparty system and a Constituent Assembly, the PCP tried to influence public opinion towards a Stalinist state, and the MFA asked for the elections to be boycotted by voters casting blank ballots³⁹⁵ to demonstrate their total support to the MFA programme. Although the Portuguese were not accustomed to voting in elections, 92% of the total electorate voted, with blank ballots totalling 7 per cent. According to Harsgor the electoral results were recorded as

390 Kayman, Martin, *Revolution and Counterrevolution in Portugal*, Op. cit., p. 173.

391 Ibid., pp. 26-27.

392 Ibid., p. 27.

393 Harsgor, Michael, 32: *The Washington Papers, Portugal in Revolution*. Op. cit., p. 27.

394 Chilcote, Ronald H., *The Portuguese Revolution: State and Class in the Transition to Democracy*, Op. cit., p. 97.

395 Harsgor, Michael, 32: *The Washington Papers, Portugal in Revolution*. Op. cit., p. 66.

Harsgor tells that the MFA believing the Portuguese were unable to decide by voting spread the word for the electorate to vote null by casting blank ballots, believing would be 70% of null votes. This would give them legitimacy to forbid multiparty system altogether so to establish a communist system of government.

follows, “PS polled 37.87% of the total votes; PPD 26.38%; PCP 12.53%; [and,] CDS 7.65%”.³⁹⁶

The elections demonstrated the maturity of the Portuguese to choose for themselves as well as “the tremendous political awakening of the Portuguese people during and after the electoral campaign, albeit not in the sense desired by the majority of its rulers”,³⁹⁷ as Harsgor emphasizes. This political awakening of the citizens had two immediate results one being that the multiparty system was chosen along with the Constituent Assembly and the other result was that the PCP leader Álvaro Cunhal³⁹⁸ argued that democracy did not mean “free elections, parliamentary representation, or basic freedoms”.³⁹⁹ Consequently, on 11 May, 1975 the PCP attempted another *coup d'état* to avoid accepting the electoral defeat and to continue its goal to impose a Stalinist Communist model while the new *Constitution* was being debated in the newly inaugurated Constituent Assembly leading to the July 1975 crisis. Harsgor calls the first elections the “peasants’ revolt”,⁴⁰⁰ in which the Portuguese proved that they knew very well what they wanted,

Portugal, one of the oldest states in the world, is heir to a long and unbroken West European tradition. The ... elections of April 1975 ... proved the political maturity of the nation ... The Portuguese know that they can achieve a higher standard of living, a more open society, a real democratic control of army and government, and a more equitable distribution of wealth only if there is not a new dictatorship.⁴⁰¹

The political “parties became agents for the concrete expression of particular interests”,⁴⁰² in “a country without intermediate organizations”⁴⁰³ thus the democratic model became possible by the pacts the parties had to make with the MFA and the Armed Forces, as Chilcote points out, “Two pacts between the MFA and the political parties constituted the essential elements of the transformation of the revolution into a democratic bourgeois state”.⁴⁰⁴ Making an analysis of the electoral system implemented in the country Chilcote states,

396 Ibid., p. 68.

397 Ibid., p. 69.

398 Alvaro Cunhal was the leader of the Portuguese Communist Party.

399 Harsgor, Michael, 32: *The Washington Papers, Portugal in Revolution*. Op. cit., p. 69.

400 Ibid., p. 79.

401 Ibid., p. 84.

402 Chilcote, Ronald H., *The Portuguese Revolution: State and Class in the Transition to Democracy*, Op. cit., p. 117.

403 Ibid., p. 117.

404 Ibid.

Remnants of the past undermined the search for legitimacy and democracy, yet what really differed after 1975 was formal parliamentary democracy, a plurality of diverse political parties, and genuine elections and voter participation. A neoliberal and social democratic consensus permeated the electoral regimes, enabling centre-right and centre-left regimes to come to power and marginalize extreme right and left forces, including the PCP.⁴⁰⁵

The nationalization of private companies and property initiated on⁴⁰⁶ “11 March [1975]”⁴⁰⁷ by the PCP and the MFA made the socialist ministers step back from the⁴⁰⁸ “4th Provisional Government”⁴⁰⁹ in which they participated and the Government collapsed. As a result during⁴¹⁰ “The Hot Summer of 1975”⁴¹¹ an additional political rally was held in Lisbon by the Socialist Party and Mário Soares’ speech was relevant for the new democracy as Manuel Amaral states in *O Portal da História*,⁴¹² “The speech was one of the most decisive moments of the Hot Summer of 1975”.⁴¹³ Where Soares states,⁴¹⁴

Your trust in a left-wing party, in the Socialist Party, was proof that we won and that what the demented leaders of the PCP and the irresponsible leaders of the Inter-union wanted was not possible. They wanted to silence the voice of the people, which will be heard in the streets of our country. Your presence makes evident an extraordinary fact that will have profound consequences in the Portuguese political life.⁴¹⁵

405 Ibid., pp. 212-213.

406 Original text in Portuguese: “... a continuação da política de nacionalizações, começada a seguir ao 11 de Março, continuava a desorganizar a economia”.

407 Amaral, Manuel, Ed., *Discurso de Mário Soares no Comício do PS na Fonte Luminosa [na Alameda D. Afonso Henriques em Lisboa] em 19 de Julho de 1975*, (Article: O Portal da História: Discurso do mês. [Em linha]. <http://www.arqnet.pt/>. Accessed on 13 January, 2014).

408 Original text in Portuguese: “... 4º Governo Provisório”.

409 Amaral, Manuel, Ed., *Discurso de Mário Soares no Comício do PS na Fonte Luminosa [na Alameda D. Afonso Henriques em Lisboa] em 19 de Julho de 1975*, Op. cit.

410 Original text in Portuguese: “... o Verão Quente de 1975”.

411 Amaral, Manuel, Ed., *Discurso de Mário Soares no Comício do PS na Fonte Luminosa [na Alameda D. Afonso Henriques em Lisboa] em 19 de Julho de 1975*, Op. cit.

412 Original text in Portuguese: “O comício da Fonte Luminosa ... teve como oradores Mário Pires, ... Lopes Cardoso, e a terminar Mário Soares. O discurso foi um dos momentos mais determinantes do Verão Quente de 1975, e serviu para marcar a posição do PS [Partido Socialista] em relação ao <Documento-Guia> da Aliança Povo-MFA, que tinha sido aprovado em 8 de Julho”.

413 Amaral, Manuel, Ed., *Discurso de Mário Soares no Comício do PS na Fonte Luminosa [na Alameda D. Afonso Henriques em Lisboa] em 19 de Julho de 1975*, Op. cit.

414 Original text in Portuguese: “... a vossa confiança num partido de esquerda, no Partido Socialista, ... foi a prova de que nós vencemos e que aquilo que a cúpula dementada do PCP e os irresponsáveis da Intersindical queriam não foi possível. Eles queriam amordçar a voz do Povo que será ouvida pelas ruas do nosso país. A vossa presença torna evidente um facto extraordinário que vai ter profundas consequências na vida política portuguesa”.

415 Amaral, Manuel, Ed., *Discurso de Mário Soares no Comício do PS na Fonte Luminosa [na Alameda D. Afonso Henriques em Lisboa] em 19 de Julho de 1975*, Op. cit.

Mário Soares argued that⁴¹⁶ “Thanks to the adventurous policy of the PCP ... the base of the Communist Party ... cannot agree with the persecution that their leaders are deploying as if to transform our country ... into a huge concentration camp”⁴¹⁷ and so they voted another leftwing moderate party into power which was the PS.

2.1.2.3 The Socialist Party, Roman Catholics and Emigrants helped establish democracy in Portugal

Soares was not alone because the Cardinal Patriarch of Lisbon Dom António Ribeiro supported him in preventing the Communists from taking over the country as corroborated by Joaquim Gomes in *Mário Soares alerta para “falsas religiões” em Portugal*,⁴¹⁸

Mário Soares revealed in Braga that during the PREC (Ongoing Revolutionary Process) that followed 25 April, 1974 the Cardinal Patriarch of Lisbon, Dom António Ribeiro, granted him secret hearings, never at the headquarters of the Patriarchate of Lisbon but in a convent near the Chiado. In the most difficult moment of PREC, the Patriarch helped us. I asked him for several hearings and had some of them in secret”, Soares said, underscoring that “he gave us great service” in the level of stabilizing the country. The type of aid provided was “having given orders for [Roman] Catholics to participate in numbers in the rally,⁴¹⁹ to which they attended in strength and that was of extreme importance.”⁴²⁰

The Communists⁴²¹ “Tried to assault the Patriarchate of Lisbon”.⁴²² However, Soares said,⁴²³ “I promoted a demonstration in favour of the Patriarchate and against the idea of the assault”.⁴²⁴ Fighting for the survival of Roman Catholicism but as serious political

416 Original text in Portuguese: “Graças à política aventureirista do PCP, ... as bases do Partido Comunista ... não podem estar de acordo com as perseguições que a cúpula está a implantar como se quisesse transformar a nossa Pátria ... num imenso campo de concentração”.

417 Amaral, Manuel, Ed., *Discurso de Mário Soares no Comício do PS na Fonte Luminosa [na Alameda D. Afonso Henriques em Lisboa] em 19 de Julho de 1975*, Op. cit.

418 Original text in Portuguese: “D. António Ribeiro concedeu-me audiências secretas. Mário Soares revelou em Braga que durante o PREC (Processo Revolucionário em Curso) que se seguiu ao 25 de Abril e 1974, o então cardeal-patriarca de Lisboa, D. António Ribeiro, concedeu-lhe audiências secretas, nunca na sede do Patriarcado de Lisboa, mas num convento próximo do Chiado. No momento mais difícil do PREC, o senhor patriarca ajudou-nos, eu pedi-lhe várias audiências e tive algumas, parte delas secretas”, disse Soares, destacando que “ele prestou-nos grandes serviços” a nível da estabilização do país. Uma das ajudas foi “ter dado ordem aos católicos para naquela célebre manifestação [a da Alameda, em Lisboa] comparecerem em força e isso foi de extrema importância”.

419 Amaral, Manuel, Ed., *Discurso de Mário Soares no Comício do PS na Fonte Luminosa [na Alameda D. Afonso Henriques em Lisboa] em 19 de Julho de 1975*, Op. cit.

420 Gomes, Joaquim, *Mário Soares alerta para “falsas religiões” em Portugal*, (News report: Expresso. Edifício S. Francisco de Sales, Paço de Arcos. 13 January, 2014. <http://expresso.sapo.pt/>. Accessed on 13 January, 2014).

421 Original text in Portuguese: “... tentaram assaltar o Patriarcado de Lisboa”.

422 Gomes, Joaquim, *Mário Soares alerta para “falsas religiões” em Portugal*, Op. cit.

423 Original text in Portuguese: “... promovi uma manifestação a favor do Patriarcado, contra essa ideia do assalto, que era a pior coisa que nos podia acontecer, seria uma coisa trágica e uma inconsciência completa, que se conseguiu evitar”.

424 Gomes, Joaquim, *Mário Soares alerta para “falsas religiões” em Portugal*, Op. cit.

priests called “For cooperation and mutual understanding within a Christian perspective [as] prescribed by the Gospel and Christ”,⁴²⁵ as mentioned by Lawrence S. Graham and Harry M. Makler in *Contemporary Portugal: the Revolution and Its Antecedents*. Roman Catholic leaders appealed to the fervour of the country’s peasants as well as to the emigrants who owned small properties to vote in the election, which paid off and their participation in the election explains why⁴²⁶ “The whole summer of ‘75 is characterized by attacks on the headquarters of political parties, especially the PCP ... which saw several of its headquarters looted and burned in the Northern part of the country”,⁴²⁷ and why the Confederation of the Portuguese Farmers (Confederação dos Agricultores Portugueses – CAP) blocked the national road at Rio Maior.⁴²⁸

Graham and Makler state that the emigrants were kept “within the religious fold”⁴²⁹ due to their permanent interaction with the Roman Catholic Church precisely because of their condition as emigrants. The emigration phenomenon worked its way to maintain the emigrants “relatively conservative”⁴³⁰ and “essentially apolitical”⁴³¹ resulting in northern villagers always considering emigration as an escape from their “essentially closed society”.⁴³² According to Graham and Makler emigration permitted social mobility and provided openness which “mitigated class feeling and ... it is this factor of ‘socialization for emigration’ that explains the conservativeness of the village youth”.⁴³³ The emigrants became a source of social transformation as they had experienced multi party democratic systems as well as societies with a profound respect for the plurality of religious convictions. Therefore, many of the emigrants supported the Evangelicals when they were mistreated by people less religiously tolerant while the politicians were involved in resolving the problems within the Armed Forces as well as dealing with the colonial problem.

425 Graham, Lawrence S. And Harry M. Makler, Eds., *Contemporary Portugal: The Revolution and Its Antecedents*, Op. cit., p. 291.

426 Original text in Portuguese: “Todo o verão de 75 é caracterizado pelos ataques às sedes dos partidos políticos, especialmente do PCP (Partido Comunista Português), que vê várias das suas sedes no Norte do país saqueadas e queimadas”.

427 *O 25 de novembro*. (Dictionary: Infopédia [Em linha]. Porto: Porto Editora, 2003-2013. Sv optics. <http://www.infopedia.pt/>. Accessed on 17 December, 2013).

428 Robinson, R. A. H., *Contemporary Portugal: a history*, Op. cit., p. 249.

429 Graham, Lawrence S. And Harry M. Makler, Eds., *Contemporary Portugal: The Revolution and Its Antecedents*, Op. cit., p. 292.

430 Ibid.

431 Ibid.

432 Ibid.

433 Ibid.

2.1.2.4 The Armed Forces' solution and the end of the Portuguese Empire

Chilcote claims that "The MFA set forth a modest program ... [that] provided the foundation for a transition to socialism ... [which] brought forward a certain Marxist language and was ... an instrument of revolutionary advance".⁴³⁴ In a last desperate move to secure their Stalinist goal the PCP and the MFA organized the *coup d'état* of 25 November, 1975 during which General António Ramalho Eanes restored "professional order in the armed forces",⁴³⁵ according to Kayman. In Chilcote's opinion, this *coup d'état* was a "decisive moment".⁴³⁶ Eanes managed to convince the Armed Forces of their honourable duty to respect the electoral results, to support the civilian elected Government as well as to accept the legitimacy of the Constituent Assembly and the new *Constitution*.

Eanes was able to oust the PCP influence from the Government, from the media and from the centres of military decision making and simultaneously forced the Council of Revolution and the MFA to the role of guardians of democracy and of the "Constitution"⁴³⁷ (Kayman). Robinson adds, "The leftward drift of the revolutionary process had been halted and through the sixth provisional government and its military vanguard of commandos, the will of the majority had at last prevailed".⁴³⁸ After his success in leading the way towards a democratic system according to the Western model of a liberal democratic regime and the Communist model of the PCP having been defeated, Eanes was elected President of the Republic and as Thomas C. Bruneau notes in *Politics and Nationhood: Pos-Revolutionary Portugal* Eanes "Carried 62 percent of the vote in the ... election".⁴³⁹ Consequently, Graham and Makler state,

The Portuguese case may turn out to have a predictive potential as a forerunner rather than a delay-development model... A new advance in social democracy under political freedom could serve as an example for the transformation of south-western Europe.⁴⁴⁰

The transition to democracy was difficult to implement even after the 25 November *coup d'état* there was the continued need "to strengthen the democratic tendencies within the

434 Chilcote, Ronald H., *The Portuguese Revolution: State and Class in the Transition to Democracy*, Op. cit., p. 97.

435 Kayman, Martin, *Revolution and Counterrevolution in Portugal*, Op. cit., p. 174.

436 Chilcote, Ronald H., *The Portuguese Revolution: State and Class in the Transition to Democracy*, Op. cit., p. 95.

437 Kayman, Martin, *Revolution and Counterrevolution in Portugal*, Op. cit., p. 175.

438 Robinson, R. A. H., *Contemporary Portugal: a history*, Op. cit., p. 250.

439 Bruneau, Thomas C., *Politics and Nationhood: Pos-Revolutionary Portugal*, (Praeger Publishers, a Division of CBS Inc., New York, USA. 1984), p. 81.

440 Graham, Lawrence S. & Harry M. Makler, Eds., *Contemporary Portugal: The Revolution and Its Antecedents*, (University of Texas Press, Austin. USA. 1979), p. 350.

state apparatus as fundamental to ensuring the defence of the democratic gains achieved since 25 April”.⁴⁴¹ Chilcote points out, “The state apparatus in many sectors and at various levels was not yet cleansed of notoriously corrupt and fascist elements”,⁴⁴² which turned the *coup d’état* of 25 April, 1974 into a transforming revolution in the sense described by Phil Mailer in *Portugal: The Impossible Revolution?* “A meaningful social revolution comes about when a large number of people seek a total change in the conditions of their existence”.⁴⁴³ The experience in the period of redefinition of the regime (1974-1976) demonstrates revolutionary activities “Emerges in the course of the struggle itself and its most advanced forms are expressed by those for whom it is a necessity to struggle”,⁴⁴⁴ which the Portuguese citizens faced as well as the people of her colonies. Therefore, it was amidst the process of granting freedom to all citizens that Portugal finalized the decolonization process, which Aurízia Anica refers to in *Transformações na sociedade portuguesa e integração na CEE*,⁴⁴⁵

With the transfer of power in Guinea and Cape Verde (1974), St. Tomé and Príncipe (1975), Mozambique (1975) and Angola (1975); closed the revolutionary period, with the approval of the *1976 Constitution*, which defined the Portuguese Republic as a democratic, pluralistic State in transition phase to socialism.⁴⁴⁶

Under the political conditions experienced during the period of redefinition of the regime (1974-1976) the adoption of any law concerning religious freedom was premature but the principle was intertwined with the general promise of liberty. However, the political response of the Roman Catholic Church and of the Evangelicals differed towards the new democracy.

2.1.3 DEMOCRACY AND RELIGION: EVANGELICALS’

POLITICAL APATHY AND THE INVOLVEMENT OF ROMAN CATHOLICS

The new multiparty system included two political parties of Christian inspiration, one in Portugal and the other in Angola established some time before her independence.

⁴⁴¹Chilcote, Ronald H., *The Portuguese Revolution: State and Class in the Transition to Democracy*, Op. cit., p. 210.

⁴⁴² Ibid.

⁴⁴³ Mailer, Phil, *Portugal: The Impossible Revolution?* (Solidarity (London), London. [England]. 1977), p. 10.

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 354.

⁴⁴⁵ Original text in Portuguese: “Com a transferência dos poderes na Guiné e Cabo Verde (1974), S. Tomé e Príncipe (1975), Moçambique (1975) e Angola (1975); encerrado o período revolucionário, com a aprovação da Constituição de 1976, na qual se definia a República Portuguesa como um Estado democrático, pluralista, em fase de transição para o socialismo”.

⁴⁴⁶ Anica, Auzíria, *Transformações na sociedade portuguesa e integração na CEE*, (Article: Escola Superior de Educação da Universidade do Algarve – Faro. Portugal. 1997. <http://www.eduvinet.de/>. Accessed on 18 February, 2014), p. 2.

Portugal initiated a path towards democracy by respecting the will of individuals but there was a diverse response on religious grounds while Evangelicals were apolitical Roman Catholics engaged with politics which is addressed in this section.

2.1.3.1 Evangelicals' apolitical stance

The 25 April, 1974 Revolution was received by the majority of the Evangelicals with great joy but marked by the traditional apolitical stance of the Evangelicals in Portugal. Cardoso explains,⁴⁴⁷ “The emergence of the democratic rule in 1974 was welcomed by Portuguese Protestants even if some of them continued their apolitical tendency which they called neutral Christianity”.⁴⁴⁸ Cardoso argues that Evangelicals tend to be politically⁴⁴⁹ “naive”;⁴⁵⁰ however, they contributed to the democratic spirit in society in two ways: first, Evangelicals call themselves ‘brothers’ and ‘sisters’ avoiding formal titles,⁴⁵¹ “Social distancing among Evangelicals is not cultivated, but their fraternity”.⁴⁵² The second way Evangelicals contributed to the democratic spirit was that they more than the other Protestant Churches preferred⁴⁵³ “Separation between church and state”.⁴⁵⁴ However, the Evangelicals have an explanation on their apparent naive and apolitical apathy as they argue that they were continuously under suspicion and discriminated against for an extended period of time and in addition they feared the effects of the “evils” of corruption associated with politics on their sanctity. Barata *et al* claim that until the *coup d'état* of 1974 the Assembly of God Churches were⁴⁵⁵ “Spiritually and culturally apolitical”.⁴⁵⁶ However, the 1974 Revolution had an immediate impact on the Portuguese Assemblies of God;⁴⁵⁷

447 Original text in Portuguese: “A emergência do regime democrático em 1974 foi, em geral, saudada por todos os protestantes portugueses, mesmo que alguns, devido ao seu conceito de um cristianismo politicamente neutro”.

448 Cardoso, Manuel Pedro, *Uma Introdução ao Protestantismo*, (Instituto Piaget. Lisboa. [Portugal]. 2004), p. 144.

449 Original text in Portuguese: “ingénuo[s]”.

450 Cardoso, Manuel Pedro, *Uma Introdução ao Protestantismo*, Op. cit.

451 Original text in Portuguese: “Entre os evangélicos o distanciamento social não é cultivado, mas a fraternidade”.

452 Cardoso, Manuel Pedro, *Uma Introdução ao Protestantismo*, Op. cit.

453 Original text in Portuguese: “... separação da Igreja e do Estado”.

454 Cardoso, Manuel Pedro, *Uma Introdução ao Protestantismo*, Op. cit.

455 Original text in Portuguese: “... marasmo espiritual ... e cultural”.

456 Barata, António C., et al, *Línguas de Fogo: História da Assembleia de Deus em Lisboa*, Op. cit., p. 138.

457 Original text in Portuguese: “O pano de fundo dos acontecimentos que mudaram o país em meados da década, precisamente em 1974, abriu-se também em perspectivas radicalmente sãs e espirituais para a maioria das igrejas evangélicas e seus respetivos departamentos, como os da juventude, por exemplo”.

The background of events that changed the country ... in 1974 also opened radical, sound and spiritual perspectives for most evangelical churches and their respective departments, such as youth for example.⁴⁵⁸

The attitude of the Assembly of God's youth changed immediately after the *coup d'état*, which was demonstrated by the way they restructured the organization of their National Youth Congress held in 1974 in Porto, which Barata *et al* describe,⁴⁵⁹

The result [of the 1974 Revolution] was beneficial because it brought restructuring to the way the Congresses were organized, aiming not only at creating an effect in the cities where they occurred, but especially appealing to high levels of participation of the Pentecostal and Assembly of God youth across the country.⁴⁶⁰

The Lisbon Youth Congress held in the following year 1975, was visible to society because it demonstrated the strength of the Pentecostal youth as Barata *et al* point out,⁴⁶¹ "10 000 people attended the Congress of the Pentecostal youth ... held in [Lisbon] in late Spring of 1975".⁴⁶² The newspaper *A Capital* (See Appendix 2) reported on the Assemblies of God's Youth Congress (29-31 May 1975) in its edition of Friday, 30 May, 1975 while the COPCON,⁴⁶³ an Operational Commando armed force established by the MFA after the *coup d'état* to control military operations and paramilitary forces, was carefully watching the Pentecostal Youth Congress in Lisbon.⁴⁶⁴ This was corroborated by a news report entitled *Cartaz Levanta Suspeitas do COPCON* which informed that the COPCON suspected that the Assembly of God Youth Congress was a contra-revolutionary movement against the new regime⁴⁶⁵ while the *Diário de Lisboa* reported about the Youth Congress in a positive tone,⁴⁶⁶

458 Barata, António C., et al, *Línguas de Fogo: História da Assembleia de Deus em Lisboa*, Op. cit., p. 137.

459 Original text in Portuguese: "No aspeto do empenhamento juvenil, do seu modo de estar dentro das igrejas locais, o Congresso Juvenil, efetuado na cidade do Porto, trouxe um conjunto válido de considerandos e inovações. Com efeito, o resultado foi benéfico, porque trouxe reestruturações da maneira de fazer os tais Congressos, não visando apenas criar efeito nas cidades onde ocorressem, mas sobretudo apelando a altos níveis de participação da juventude pentecostal e assembleiana de todo o país. Desde o nível espiritual e cultural".

460 Barata, António C., et al, *Línguas de Fogo: História da Assembleia de Deus em Lisboa*, Op. cit., p. 137.

461 Original text in Portuguese: "Profundas mudanças, estruturais e organizacionais, e, para lá desse aspeto, 10 000 pessoas no encerramento de um Congresso da juventude pentecostal, é assim que se pode caracterizar o XI Congresso Juvenil realizado na capital. Em primeiro lugar, a Assembleia de Deus de Lisboa foi quem beneficiou de tal reestruturação, com esse Congresso efetuado no Pavilhão Carlos Lopes e com o encerramento na Praça de Toiros do Campo Pequeno, nos fins da Primavera de 1975".

462 Barata, António C., et al, *Línguas de Fogo: História da Assembleia de Deus em Lisboa*, Op. cit., pp. 137-138.

463 Note: "The Decree-Law NO. 310/74, 8 July, instituted the COPCON, an Operational Comando to control the military operations in Portugal continental in order to maintain peace and order".

464 *Criação do COPCON*, (Legislation: Decreto Lei Nº 310/74, de 8 de Julho. Centro de Documentação 25 de Abril. Universidade de Coimbra. Palácio dos Grilos, Coimbra, Portugal. Sv Customs. <http://www1.ci.uc.pt/>. Accessed on 27 February, 2014).

465 [?], *Cartaz Levanta Suspeitas do COPCON*, (News report: *A Capital*. Sexta-Feira, 30 de Maio de 1975), p. 24. This newspaper was published from 1968 to 2005; but, it is no longer published (see: Santos, Rogério, *Sobre o Jornal A Capital*. [60](http://industrias-</p></div><div data-bbox=)

Yesterday was the opening of the eleventh Pentecostal Youth Congress of the Assembly of God at the Sports Pavilion in Lisbon... The Pentecostal Church, although anti-ecumenical, points out the threefold purpose of this Congress as follows: 'a greater relationship with God, a greater closeness to each other and a greater sensitivity to the needs of the World'.⁴⁶⁷

The country was about to enter the “Hot Summer” of 1975 (as described by Mário Soares) and that is why the Congress had an impact in the capital and attracted the attention of the “press” as well as the authorities according to Barata *et al*,⁴⁶⁸

Some Lisbon newspapers did not ignore the impact that the Congress launched over the city. The country lived under the nightmares of blows from the rightwing tendencies and saw secret signals even in the simple identification badge Conjuv/75, whose motto was 'Jesus Comes!' which provoked fear to the so-called PREC!⁴⁶⁹

The 1975 Congress had a lasting impact on the youth of the Assemblies of God because it served as a means of expressing views in an environment of freedom and motivated for a spiritual youth revival during the preparatory meetings as well as during the Congress. Professor Fernando Nogueira Dias was a young member of the Lisbon Assembly of God who discussed his involvement as a leader of the Congress in *Interview 5* (See Interviews Conducted),⁴⁷⁰

I was the spokesman of this movement ... who tried to get around the issue [of renewal]. This was a movement ... consisting of bases of enlightened youth and with a certain academic enlightenment. I will not say political, because at the time hardly anyone had political enlightenment, but it was more a clarification of academic and cultural order.⁴⁷¹

The youth of the Assembly of God lacked a clear common purpose as a result of illiteracy according to Dias. The problem of illiteracy spanned the Portuguese society in Chilcote's opinion, “In Portugal the educational deficiencies of the past are still evident

culturais.blogspot.com/; accessed on 27 February, 2014). The newspaper clipping published in this thesis was kindly sent to me to inform this thesis by Pastor Óscar Segura via email received on 21 February, 2014 at 03:09 pm.

466 Original text in Portuguese: “Decorreu ontem, no Pavilhão dos Desportos de Lisboa, a primeira jornada do XI Congresso Juvenil Pentecostal, da Assembleia de Deus... A Igreja Pentecostal, embora seja anti-ecumenista, aponta, neste Congresso, para um tríplice objetivo: ‘uma maior aproximação de Deus, uma maior aproximação uns dos outros e uma maior aproximação das necessidades do Mundo’”.

467 [?], *A Segunda Vinda de Cristo*, (News report: Diário de Lisboa, nº 18777, Ano 55, Sexta, 30 de Maio de 1975, CasaComum.org, <http://hdl.handle.net/>. Accessed on 27 February, 2014).

468 Original text in Portuguese: “Alguns vespertinos lisboetas não resistiram ao impacto que o Congresso lançou sobre a cidade. O país vivia sob os pesadelos dos golpes de direita e via sinais secretos até no simples emblema identificador do Conjuv/75, cujo lema era ‘Jesus Vem!’, o que terá pregado um susto, sem dúvida, no chamado PREC!”

469 Barata, António C., et al, *Línguas de Fogo: História da Assembleia de Deus em Lisboa*, Op. cit., pp. 137-138.

470 Original text in Portuguese: “Fui mesmo o porta-voz desse movimento ... que tentou dar a volta à questão. Este foi um movimento ... constituído por bases de jovens esclarecidos e com um certo esclarecimento académico. Não direi político, porque na altura praticamente ninguém tinha esclarecimento político, mas era um esclarecimento mais de ordem académica e cultural. E, sentiam que era de facto necessário dar a volta, alterar práticas e alterar pensamentos. ... Quando chegamos ao Congresso em Lisboa foi um estrondoso acontecimento com muito sucesso”.

471 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview With Professor Fernando Nogueira Dias For Master's Thesis*, (Conducted at Restaurante Mexicana, Praça de Londres, Lisbon. Portugal. 12 July, 2004), p. 25.

in the present. The level of illiteracy in Portugal was 20 percent in 1980, with five million over the age of fourteen not having progressed beyond the sixth grade”.⁴⁷² Therefore, the organizers of the Youth Congress attempted to change the general mindset of the youth taking the opportunity presented by the transitional period to democracy. Consequently, the Youth Congresses held in Porto in 1974 and in Lisbon in 1975 presented opportunities for Evangelicals to deliver their message to society.

2.1.3.2 The involvement of Roman Catholics in politics

The multiparty system opened the path for Roman Catholics to establish political parties with a Christian ideology. In an article entitled *Partido da Democracia Cristã* the National Electoral Commission (Comissão Nacional de Eleições) informs that,⁴⁷³ “In 1974 the Social Democratic Christian Party was established which later amalgamated with the Popular Christian Democratic Party”.⁴⁷⁴ In Angola another political Roman Catholic party was established prior to the independence of the colony as Ruas points out,⁴⁷⁵ “An organized committee is being formed in Luanda, of the Christian-Democratic Party of Angola, headed by prominent figures in [Roman] Catholic circles”.⁴⁷⁶ Liberty gave rise to elation as Chilcote mentions,

The events of 1974-1975 ... represented a transition but not a revolution. The structures of the state today are similar to those of the Caetano, not the Salazar, period. In one sense, [Roman] Catholic religious influence was important under Caetano, but mainstream PS leaders were also fundamentally religious.⁴⁷⁷

⁴⁷²Chilcote, Ronald H., *The Portuguese Revolution: State and Class in the Transition to Democracy*, Op. cit., p. 210.

⁴⁷³ Original text in Portuguese: “Em 1974 surge o Partido Cristão Social Democrata, que dias depois de se ter formado une-se ao Partido Democrático Popular Cristão. Ainda no mesmo ano, fruto de uma dissidência, constitui-se o PDC. São seus dirigentes: Nuno Calvet de Magalhães, Henrique de Sousa e Melo, José Mendes da Fonseca, entre outros. Conforme o disposto nos seus Estatutos, “pretende colocar todos os poderes públicos ao serviço do Povo, segundo os princípios democráticos e de harmonia com a moral, o direito, a liberdade e as responsabilidades cristãs” (in Artigo 1º, Capítulo I dos seus Estatutos). O semanário “Presença Democrática” é uma publicação sua. Inscrito oficialmente no Supremo Tribunal de Justiça em 13/02/1975. É extinto pelo Acórdão 529/2004 do Tribunal Constitucional, publicado no Diário da República, II Série, em 20/08/2004”.

⁴⁷⁴ *Partido da Democracia Cristã*, (Article: Comissão Nacional de Eleições. Lisboa. [Portugal]. <http://www.cne.pt/>. Accessed on 19 January, 2014).

⁴⁷⁵ Original text in Portuguese: “Está em formação, em Luanda, uma comissão organizadora do Partido Cristão-Democrático de Angola, encabeçado por figuras de destaque nos meios católicos. A comissão tem em mente aglutinar todos os homens de boa vontade, quaisquer que sejam as suas tendências religiosas, no propósito de trabalhar para a estruturação de uma sociedade multirracial e mais tarde contactar com associações congêneres existentes na Europa”.

⁴⁷⁶ Ruas, Henrique Barrilero, Ed., *A Revolução das Flores: Do 25 de Abril ao Governo Provisório*, Op. cit., p. 241.

⁴⁷⁷Chilcote, Ronald H., *The Portuguese Revolution: State and Class in the Transition to Democracy*, Op. cit., p. 238.

2.1.3.3 Christian media and freedom of expression

Roman Catholic media was established with the support of the Estado Novo while non-Roman Catholic Christian media had long been struggling to spread the Evangelical message. The Assemblies of God had launched their printed magazine *Novas de Alegria* in October 1942,⁴⁷⁸ their children's magazine *Boa Semente* in 1948, as well as the *Expositor Dominical* and *Caminho* which were launched in 1965. The *Novas de Alegria* is particularly relevant for the study of church history as it is a substantial source of information of the Assemblies of God denomination. In addition, the Assemblies of God launched a radio program called Programa Novas de Alegria which was broadcast across the country on various national and local radio stations. After the 1974 *coup d'état* the *Novas de Alegria* magazine welcomed democracy as Lino indicates,⁴⁷⁹

The national magazine of the Assemblies of God [*Novas de Alegria*] ... after the 25 April, 1974 had a photograph of the Junta of National Salvation and an open text supporting the change of the regime,⁴⁸⁰ (*Interview 4*, See Interviews Conducted).

Religious media reacted positively to the impact of the *coup d'état* increasingly experiencing freedom of expression. The 1974 Revolution gave rise to democracy which brought with it a new *Constitution* known as the 1976 *Constitution* promoting freedom.

2.2 DEMOCRACY AND RELIGIOUS FREEDOM IN THE 1976 CONSTITUTION WITHIN THE TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY

This section examines the concept of democracy and religious freedom within the 1976 *Constitution*. One fundamental impact of the Revolution on the future democratic

478 Branco, Paulo, *A História das Publicações das Assembleias de Deus*, (Convenção das Assembleias de Deus de Portugal. Online portal, <http://www.cadp.pt/>. Accessed on 27 January, 2014).

479 Original text in Portuguese: “Depois de 1974, a minha interpretação é a seguinte. Houve uma grande ... uma grande explosão de liberdade. Eu lembro-me perfeitamente que a revista nacional das Assembleias de Deus [*Novas de Alegria*], que era dirigida pelo pastor João Sequeira Hipólito, logo a seguir ao 25 de abril, tinha uma fotografia da Junta de Salvação Nacional, e um texto muito aberto, muito a apoiar a mudança do regime. Eu não achei nada disso mal. Eu penso é que, o que aconteceu a seguir... o que aconteceu a seguir, ou seja, depois o entrar-se num processo revolucionário, num processo de tentativa por parte de algumas forças políticas de tomar o poder pela força e não pela via democrática, inibiu muito as igrejas e inibiu muito os cristãos, de se envolverem mais na política. Fê-los recolher um pouco mais com receio. Pelo menos é a interpretação histórica que eu tenho desse período da nossa história”.

480 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 4 – with Rev Dr José Manuel Brissos Lino*, (Conducted on 15 March, 2011 at Universidade Nova de Lisboa. In Lisbon, Portugal), p. 9.

liberties for the Portuguese was the adoption of the *1976 Constitution*. However, the concept of religious freedom was yet to be developed as it was lacking in the new *Constitution*. Since religious freedom is a fundamental human rights principle the *1976 Constitution* has had to be revised a number of times until it became a central aspect of the Portuguese legislation in 2001 which will come under scrutiny later in this thesis. Cognisance was taken of religious freedom in the transition to democracy.

2.2.1 RELIGIOUS FREEDOM IN THE TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY AND THE ADOPTION OF THE 1976 CONSTITUTION

The *coup-d'état* of 25 April, 1974 initiated a Revolution in Portugal the impact of which altered all forms of freedom including religious freedom, which was reflected in the free elections,⁴⁸¹ the Constituent Assembly, the new *Constitution* and new related legislation.

2.2.1.1 The adoption of the 1976 Constitution

During the period under study, 1974-1976, there were three historically linked elements of interest for the purpose of this study. Firstly, the free elections of 25 April, 1975⁴⁸² followed by the Constituent Assembly which thirdly adopted a new *Constitution*. Considering that in Portugal voting is not obligatory⁴⁸³ the voters' participation in the first free election⁴⁸⁴ marked a significant shift towards a transition to democracy in Portuguese modern history, which definitively paved the way to religious freedom. The free elections essentially laid the foundation for democracy, benefiting all areas of society precisely because they were truly free as stated in an article entitled *Assembleia Constituinte*,⁴⁸⁵ "The elections to the Constituent Assembly of 25 April, 1975 had particular historical significance, as they were the first true free elections, universal and

481 *A Democracia em Portugal: Eleições*, (Article: Governo de Portugal. Sv costumes. <http://www.portugal.gov.pt/>. Accessed on 20 January, 2014).

482 Ibid.

483 Ibid.

484 *Decreto da Presidência da República nº 141 – A/75, publicado no DG nº 66 I Série Suplemento, de 19.03.1975*, (Legislation: Diário do Governo, Suplemento. 1 Série – Número 66. Quarta-feira 19 de Março de 1975. Sv costumes. Comissão Nacional de Eleições. Eleições para a Assembleia Constituinte 1975. <http://www.cne.pt/>. Accessed on 20 January, 2014).

485 Original text in Portuguese: "As eleições para a Assembleia Constituinte de 25 de Abril de 1975 tiveram particular significado histórico, pois foram as primeiras verdadeiramente livres, diretas e universais realizadas em Portugal após o golpe de Estado de 1926".

direct since the 1st held in Portugal after the 1926 coup”.⁴⁸⁶ Until the new *Constitution* was promulgated the Constitutional powers were temporarily vested in the Council of State (Conselho de Estado) from 25 April, 1974 until 2 April, 1976,⁴⁸⁷ “Between April 25 1974 and 2 April of 1976 35 laws with constitutional status were published, which were formally designated as ‘constitutional laws’⁴⁸⁸ but none dealt with religious freedom until the adoption of the new *Constitution* on 2 April, 1976.

2.2.1.2 Sources of motivation shaping religious freedom in the 1976 Constitution

Since the first *Constitution* was adopted in 1822⁴⁸⁹ “...there has been an increasing, widening of freedom and equality in religion”⁴⁹⁰ according to Miranda in *Liberdade Religiosa, Igrejas e Estado em Portugal*. Miranda claims that the Portuguese constitutionalism had four stages concerning religious freedom; the first being⁴⁹¹ “The three constitutions of liberal monarchy (1822, 1826 and 1838) had in common declared the Apostolic Roman Catholic religion as the state religion”.⁴⁹² The second constitutional stage was⁴⁹³ “The legislation produced during the first months of the new [Republican] regime assumed a distinctly secular and anti-Roman Catholic intent and there were persecutions. The 1911 *Constitution* was marked by this spirit”.⁴⁹⁴

The third stage in Constitutional development regarding freedom of religion was⁴⁹⁵ “The authoritarian regime installed in 1926, institutionalized by the 1933 *Constitution*, which regime benefited until 1974 from the Roman Catholic support. The regime gave

486 [?], *Assembleia Constituinte*, (Article: Município de Santarém – Câmara Municipal. Paços do Concelho. Santarém. [Portugal]. <http://www.cm-santarem.pt/>. Accessed on 20 January, 2014).

487 Original text in Portuguese: “No período pós-revolucionário, quando ainda não havia nova constituição e a anterior tinha parcialmente “caducado” com a queda do antigo regime, os “poderes constituintes assumidos em consequência do Movimento das Forças Armadas” cabiam ao Conselho de Estado e manter-se-iam na sua titularidade primeiro “até à eleição da Assembleia Constituinte” e depois, por via de alteração legislativa, “até à promulgação da nova Constituição”. Entre 25 de Abril de 1974 e 2 de Abril de 1976 foram publicadas 35 leis com valor constitucional, que formalmente tiveram a designação de “leis constitucionais”.

488 [?], *Assembleia Constituinte*, Op. cit.

489 Original text in Portuguese: “... se tem verificado um crescente alargamento da liberdade e da igualdade no domínio da religião”.

490 Miranda, Jorge, *Liberdade Religiosa Igrejas e Estado em Portugal*, Op. cit., p. 119.

491 Original text in Portuguese: “As três Constituições da monarquia liberal (de 1822, 1826 e 1838) tinham de comum declararem a religião católica ‘apostólica romana religião oficial do Estado’.

492 Miranda, Jorge, *Liberdade Religiosa Igrejas e Estado em Portugal*, Op. cit., p. 120.

493 Original text in Portuguese: “A legislação dos primeiros meses do novo regime [republicano] assumiu uma intenção vincadamente laicista e anticatólica e chegou a haver perseguições. A Constituição de 1911 foi marcada por este espírito”.

494 Miranda, Jorge, *Liberdade Religiosa Igrejas e Estado em Portugal*, Op. cit.

495 Original text in Portuguese: “Constituição de 1933 ... conseguiria ... soluções normativas mais conducentes à liberdade religiosa dos católicos, se bem pouco atentas à igualdade plena de direitos dos outros crentes”.

legislation concerned with the religious freedom of Roman Catholics, although little attention was equal rights of other believers”.⁴⁹⁶ The *1951 Constitutional Revision* continued to consider⁴⁹⁷ “the [Roman] Catholic religion as the ‘religion of the Portuguese Nation’”.⁴⁹⁸ However, the *1971 Constitutional Revision* (Lei n.º 3/71, de 16 de Agosto) was remarkable because of the promulgation of the *Religious Freedom Act* (Lei n.º 4/71, de 21 de Agosto)⁴⁹⁹ which changed its reading from “Catholicism is *the* [my emphasis] religion of the Portuguese” to “the Catholic religion is the *traditional* [my emphasis] religion of the Portuguese Nation”,⁵⁰⁰ as per Article 45 of the new Constitutional text.

The fourth stage in Portuguese constitutionalism concerning religion was⁵⁰¹ “The *Constitution of 1976* ... [promulgated on 2 April, 1976] which guarantees religious freedom without restrictions to any confessions and without any specific limits”.⁵⁰² According to Miranda the *1976 Constitution*⁵⁰³

Is more advanced than the previous successive Constitutional regimes because they aimed at union, secular neutrality and preferential relationship with the [Roman] Catholic Church while the separation between State and Church is essentially a guarantee of freedom and equality status.⁵⁰⁴

The *1976 Constitution* was inspired by two trends of international influence which were the Communist views on religion and the *Universal Declaration on Human Rights*. Concerning the Communist view, it was based on the Comintern⁵⁰⁵ which Mounir A. Farah and Andrea Berens Karls describe in *World History the Human Experience: The Modern Era* as the Communist International established by Lenin in 1919 whose goal “Was to encourage Communist parties in other countries to overthrow their Governments

496 Miranda, Jorge, *Liberdade Religiosa Igrejas e Estado em Portugal*, Op. cit., p. 121.

497 Original text in Portuguese: “... a religião católica ‘religião da Nação Portuguesa’”.

498 Miranda, Jorge, *Liberdade Religiosa Igrejas e Estado em Portugal*, Op. cit., p. 122.

499 Ibid., p. 123.

500 Ibid.

501 Original text in Portuguese: “A Constituição de 1976, a atual, vem garantir a liberdade religiosa sem aceção de confissões e sem quaisquer limites específicos. É um estágio mais avançado do que os sucessivos regimes anteriores de união, de neutralidade laicista e de relação preferencial com a Igreja Católica (5), e a separação serve essencialmente de garantia da liberdade e da igualdade”.

502 Miranda, Jorge, *Liberdade Religiosa Igrejas e Estado em Portugal*, Op. cit.

503 Original text in Portuguese: “A Constituição de 1976, a atual, vem garantir a liberdade religiosa sem aceção de confissões e sem quaisquer limites específicos. É um estágio mais avançado do que os sucessivos regimes anteriores de união, de neutralidade laicista e de relação preferencial com a Igreja Católica, e a separação serve essencialmente de garantia de liberdade e da igualdade”.

504 Miranda, Jorge, *Liberdade Religiosa Igrejas e Estado em Portugal*, Op. cit.

505 The Communist International, abbreviated as Comintern and also known as the Third International (1919–1943), was an international communist organization that advocated world communism. See: <https://www.marxists.org/>.

by legal or illegal means and to establish Soviet-style regimes”.⁵⁰⁶ The PCP’s aim to establish a Communist regime in Portugal was fostered by the Comintern and it posed pressure on religious freedom because of the view taken from Marx’s *Critique of Hegel’s Philosophy of Right*, “The criticism of religion is the prerequisite of all criticism”.⁵⁰⁷

As part of the process to establish a Stalinist regime in Portugal the Communist members of the Constituent Assembly inserted Marxist ideological elements in the 1976 *Constitution* which conflicted with the principle of religious freedom and turned the constitutional text ambiguous, as Lloyd-Jones mentions in *Portugal’s history since 1974*, “The document was deliberately ambiguous and did not offer any instrumental suggestions as to how post-revolutionary Portugal could get to the desired point ... [which was] to defend the interests of the working class”.⁵⁰⁸ Kayman agrees with Lloyd-Jones and states, “The 1976 *Constitution* appears to resolve the conflicts ... [but it] embodies ... contradictions”.⁵⁰⁹ However, the fact that the Communist was able to influence the Constitutional text to such an ambiguous degree remains difficult to understand since the PCP only had 12.53 percent of the electoral results while the other parties combined had 76.78%.⁵¹⁰

Regarding the influence of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* on the 1976 *Constitution* the concepts of freedom of religion, thought, and conscience were borrowed from the United Nations’ Resolution (GA Res 217 (111) 1948). According to Patrick Mzolisi Mtshaulana, John Dugard, and Neville Botha in *Documents on International Law: Handbook for Law Students and Constitutional Lawyers*, Article 18 of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* deals with “Freedom of Religion, Thought and

506 Farah, Mounir A. and Andrea Berens Karls, *World History the Human Experience: The Modern Era*, (National Geographic Society, Glencoe / McGraw-Hill, Westerville, Ohio. USA. 1999), p. 567.

507 Marx, Karl, *A Contribution to the Critique of Hegel’s Philosophy of Right*, (Oxford University Press. Oxford. UK. 1970. www.marxists.org/. Accessed on 23 November, 2012), p. [1].

508 Lloyd-Jones, Stewart, *Portugal’s history since 1974*, Op. cit., p. 3.

509 Kayman, Martin, *Revolution and Counterrevolution in Portugal*, Op. cit., p. 177.

510 Harsgor, Michael, 32: *The Washington Papers, Portugal in Revolution*. Op. cit., p. 68.

The PS polled 37.87% of the total vote; the PPD 26.38%; the PCP 12.53%; the CDS 7.65%.

Conscience”;⁵¹¹ Article 19 refers to “Freedom of Expression”;⁵¹² and, Article 20 addresses “Freedom of Assembly and Association”⁵¹³ which state,

Article 18 – Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance... Article 19 – Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers... Article 20 – 1. Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association. 2. No one may be compelled to belong to an association.⁵¹⁴

The *1976 Constitution* had soon to be revised due to the mixture of Marxist ideology with that of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* which was incongruent and, therefore, resulted in an ambiguous text. Yet, the *Constitution* needed to be defended as Kayman states, “Eanes and the Council of the Revolution repeatedly proved in a tenacious defence of the *Constitution* from its promulgation in the spring of 1976 to its revision in 1982”.⁵¹⁵ Meanwhile, the *1940 Concordat* continued its legal status after its amendment known as Additional Protocol to the Concordat (*Protocolo Adicional à Concordata*).

2.2.1.3 Problems resulting from the Additional Protocol to the Concordat (*Protocolo Adicional à Concordata – 1975*)

In 1975 Portugal signed⁵¹⁶ an Additional Protocol to the Concordat (*Protocolo Adicional à Concordata*) with the Vatican, which maintained the *1940 Concordat* as part of the Portuguese legislation until mid 1980s.⁵¹⁷ The Additional Protocol to the Concordat states,

511 Mtshaulana, Patrick Mzolisi, et al, Eds., *Documents on International Law: Handbook for Law Students and Constitutional Lawyers*, Op. cit., p. 174.

512 Ibid.

513 Ibid.

514 Ibid.

515 Kayman, Martin, *Revolution and Counterrevolution in Portugal*, Op. cit., p. 170.

516 Miranda, Jorge, *Liberdade Religiosa Igrejas e Estado em Portugal*, Op. cit., p. 129.

517 Original text in Portuguese: “Mantêm-se em vigor os outros artigos da Concordata de 7 de Maio de 1940 ... A Santa Sé e o Governo Português, afirmando a vontade de manter o regime concordatário vigente ... tomando em consideração ... a nova situação apresentada pela parte portuguesa”.

The ... articles of the *Concordat* of 7 May, 1940 remain valid ... The Portuguese Government and the Holy See state the desire to maintain the existing concordat regime ... taking into account ... the new situation presented by the Portuguese part.⁵¹⁸

The validation in 1975 of the *1940 Concordat* through the *Additional Protocol* causes perplexity to relevant constitutionalists such as Jónatas Eduardo Mendes Machado of the University of Coimbra and Jorge Miranda of the University of Lisbon as well as to the former Minister of Justice Dr José Vera Jardim responsible for the actual *Religious Freedom Act 2001*. The problematic question posed by Machado, Miranda and Jardim is to understand why the *1940 Concordat* continued its validity after the *1976 Constitution*.

In *O Regime Concordatário entre a “Libertas Ecclesiae” e a Liberdade Religiosa* Machado argues that in terms of *legal theory* the absolute sovereignty of the political power refused the parity of the position between the State and the Roman Catholic Church which placed the *Concordat* within public right. Machado highlights the fact that during the monarchy⁵¹⁹ “The *Concordat* functioned as an instrument to grant the defence and conservation of the monarch's prerogatives”.⁵²⁰ In the transition from the absolutist monarchy to the constitutional regime *legal theory* implied the⁵²¹ “subordination to the constitutional principles of the *Concordat*”.⁵²² However, the subjection to the constitutional right did not interest most conservative positions of the Roman Catholic Church that used⁵²³ “canonical tradition”.⁵²⁴ Consequently, Machado informs,⁵²⁵ “The *Concordat* continued to have useful meaning as a tool to maintain and consolidate a privileged position of the Roman Catholic Church within the state structure”,⁵²⁶ which means that while the State would give juridical privileges to the Roman Catholics the Roman Catholic Church would return the favour by giving political legitimacy. Machado

518 Card. Villot, Giovanni, Francisco Salgado Zenha, *Protocolo Adicional à Concordata*, (Legislation: RL – República & Laicidade (Associação Cívica). Lisboa. [Portugal]. Acta Apostolicae Sedis 67 (1975) 435-436. Diário do Governo, 1ª Série, nº 79, de 4 de Abril de 1975. <http://www.laicidade.org/>. Accessed on 20 January, 2014), p. [1].

519 Original text in Portuguese: “A concordata funcionava como instrumento de defesa do monarca e conservação das suas prerrogativas”.

520 Machado, Jónatas Eduardo Mendes, *O Regime Concordatário Entre a “Libertas Ecclesiae” e a Liberdade Religiosa*, (Coleção Argumentum 6. Coimbra Editora. Coimbra, [Portugal]. 1993), p. 14.

521 Original text in Portuguese: “a subordinação da Concordata aos princípios constitucionais”.

522 Machado, Jónatas Eduardo Mendes, *O Regime Concordatário Entre a “Libertas Ecclesiae” e a Liberdade Religiosa*, Op. cit.

523 Original text in Portuguese: “tradição canonista”.

524 Machado, Jónatas Eduardo Mendes, *O Regime Concordatário Entre a “Libertas Ecclesiae” e a Liberdade Religiosa*, Op. cit.

525 Original text in Portuguese “A Concordata continuava a ter sentido útil enquanto instrumento de manutenção e consolidação de uma posição privilegiada da Igreja Católica dentro da estrutura estadual”.

526 Machado, Jónatas Eduardo Mendes, *O Regime Concordatário Entre a “Libertas Ecclesiae” e a Liberdade Religiosa*, Op. cit.

argues⁵²⁷ that if for centuries the theological discourse of the Church had stressed the moral rights and superiority of truth over error, now the legal-constitutional speech proclaims the natural, imprescriptibly and inalienable right of the individual as a human being to worship God according, only, to the dictates of his or her own conscience. As Machado states, the problem posed by Concordats as part of international law is that they grant a special position to the Roman Catholic Church in which she refuses to be compared within the national legal-constitutional guidelines with other religious confessions,⁵²⁸

The international approach was a means of ensuring the [Roman] Catholic Church a legal gain and privileged position in relation to the State as compared to other religious confessions, functionally equivalent to that achieved previously by the canonist tradition of *libertas ecclesiae*. The international logic is, at bottom, a means by which the Catholic Church intends to artificially extend the basic functions of this tradition.⁵²⁹

Nevertheless, the *Constitution* is in the national legal hierarchy on a higher position than the *Concordat* to the point of governing its guidelines as Machado adds,⁵³⁰ “The *Constitution* is at the top of the legal system and hierarchically the higher norm, or, from another perspective, it lies at the base, serving as the normative foundation”.⁵³¹ Miranda questions the double legal life in Portuguese legislation given to the 1940 *Concordat* if the 1976 *Constitution* contains no reference to it,⁵³²

The 1976 *Constitution* contains no distinct reference [to the Roman Catholic Church]. Therefore, it may be asked if the distinctions made by a law or by an international treaty justify the double life of the *Concordat of 1940* (basic status of the Catholic Church in Portugal) and of the 1971 [*Religious Freedom*] Act (where most of the regulation of non-Roman Catholic faiths is), if it is constitutional any difference in treatment.⁵³³

527 Ibid., p. 16.

528 Original text in Portuguese: “A lógica internacional constituía um meio de assegurar à Igreja Católica uma mais-valia jurídico-política em relação ao Estado e às demais confissões religiosas, funcionalmente equivalente à conseguida anteriormente pela tradição canonista da *libertas ecclesiae*. A lógica internacionalista é, no fundo, um meio pelo qual se pretende prolongar artificialmente as funções vitais básicas desta tradição”.

529 Machado, Jónatas Eduardo Mendes, *O Regime Concordatário Entre a “Libertas Ecclesiae” e a Liberdade Religiosa*, Op. cit., p. 25.

530 Original text in Portuguese: “A ideia da constitucionalidade trás implicada a regra de que todos os órgãos e atividades do Estado se encontram vinculados, já negativa já positiva, pelos parâmetros, formais e materiais, estabelecidos na Constituição, sem que haja qualquer justificação ou pretexto para a inobservância dessa regra. A Constituição encontra-se, pois, no topo do ordenamento jurídico, como norma hierarquicamente superior, ou, noutra perspetiva, encontra-se na base, servindo-lhe de fundamento de normatividade”.

531 Machado, Jónatas Eduardo Mendes, *O Regime Concordatário Entre a “Libertas Ecclesiae” e a Liberdade Religiosa*, Op. cit., p. 27.

532 Original text in Portuguese: “A Constituição de 1976 não contém ... nenhuma referência distintiva. Logo, cabe perguntar se pode a lei ou um tratado internacional estabelecer distinções; se justifica a dupla vigência da Concordata de 1940 (estatuto básico da Igreja Católica em Portugal) e da Lei de 1971 (onde está o essencial da regulamentação das confissões não católicas); se é constitucional qualquer diferença de tratamento”.

533 Miranda, Jorge, *Liberdade Religiosa Igrejas e Estado em Portugal*, Op. cit., p. 129.

Socialist politician Dr José Vera Jardim was the Minister of Justice responsible for the *2001 Religious Freedom Act* (Lei nº 16/2001 de 22 de Junho) and the Vice-president of the National Assembly when interviewed to inform this thesis. Regarding the continuity of the *Concordat* simultaneously with the *1971 Religious Liberty Act* under the new Constitutional order he stated that was even strange for Roman Catholic dignitaries in *Interview 13* (See Interviews Conducted) Jardim,⁵³⁴ “Several personalities, including the Roman Catholic Cardinal Patriarch of Lisbon ... said ... that there was no need for a *Concordat*. That is ... [there should be only a law of] religious freedom for all churches”.⁵³⁵ However, Miranda wonders why no one questioned the constitutionality of the *1940 Concordat* if essentially the most important aspect of a *Constitution* is related to the protection of the dignity of the human being. Machado underlines the importance of Miranda’s point specifically related to religious freedom as a fundamental right,⁵³⁶

The value of the dignity of the human person is extremely important ... and it is not the least when thinking specifically about the legal discipline of the religious phenomenon. That is because it forms part of the constitutive basis of the right of every individual to an equal freedom that is promoted since the advent of constitutionalism. It is the key to solve the complex problems raised by the relationship between the State and religious denominations. Consequently, the respect for human dignity lays at the foundation of freedom of conscience, religion and worship.⁵³⁷

The *Concordat* was imposed as coming from the past, almost untouched, but the question of why the *1940 Concordat* should be kept alive along with the *Religious Liberty Act of 1971* and the *1976 Constitution* remains. Ten years after the adoption of the *1976 Constitution* Miranda stated,⁵³⁸

In radical terms, the problem has not been posed in Portugal in the past 10 years of the current *Constitution* and no one has also challenged the *Concordat* as an entire document. The *Protocol* entered into force in 1975 ... after the 1974 revolution, confirmed the *1940*

534 Original text in Portuguese: “Várias personalidades da Igreja Católica, designadamente o Cardeal Patriarca de Lisboa ...

chegaram a dizer ... que com esta iniciativa não seria preciso uma *Concordata*. Que podia ficar só uma *Lei da Liberdade Religiosa* para todas as igrejas”.

535 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 13 – with Dr José Vera Jardim*, (Conducted on 30 March, 2011 in his office at the Assembleia da República (National Parliament). Palácio de S. Bento, Lisbon. [Portugal]), p. 7.

536 Original text in Portuguese: “Se o valor dignidade da pessoa humana é de extrema importância ... não o é menos quando se pensa especificamente sobre a disciplina jurídica do fenómeno religioso. É que ele é um fundamento constitutivo do direito de cada indivíduo a uma igual liberdade, e esta é, desde o advento do constitucionalismo, a chave da resolução dos complexos problemas suscitados pela relação entre as confissões religiosas e o Estado. O respeito pela dignidade da pessoa humana é o alicerce da liberdade de consciência, de religião e de culto”.

537 Machado, Jónatas Eduardo Mendes, *O Regime Concordatário Entre a “Libertas Ecclesiae” e a Liberdade Religiosa*, Op. cit., p. 28.

538 Original text in Portuguese: “O problema, nestes termos radicais, não tem sido posto em Portugal nos 10 anos da atual Constituição. Ninguém tem contestado a *Concordata* em bloco. O *Protocolo* de 1975 ... celebrado já após a revolução de 1974, confirma-a; e existe consenso quanto aos riscos que uma rutura da *Concordata* poderia trazer (situações de vazio jurídico e prováveis novos confrontos entre a Igreja e o Estado”.

Concordat and there is consensus concerning the risks which the *Concordat* could bring by creating situations of legal limbo and likely further confrontation between the Church and the State.⁵³⁹

The question, then, is related to what could have been done if the *Concordat* was unconstitutional. In the case of the *Concordat* being unconstitutional Miranda suggests two issues that could be dealt with. First, there was the need to verify the norms of the *Concordat* confronting its guidelines with Constitutional legislation to establish whether they⁵⁴⁰ “disregarded the constitutional principles of religious liberty and equality”;⁵⁴¹ and, second, in the hypothesis of the first being true,⁵⁴² “to achieve its replacement or the publication of new rules establishing liberty and equality”.⁵⁴³ Miranda adds that the opinion of the Judges of the Constitutional Court was that,⁵⁴⁴

The ruling and upheld by the constitutional organs of constitutional verification is that the constitutional principles sympathize with differential treatment of various confessions, due to the actual weight they have on society, or ... its diverse representation. What they do not permit however is a privileged treatment or, rather, the discrimination of this or that confession.⁵⁴⁵

The argument Miranda raises is that the organs of constitutional verification make a distinction between a⁵⁴⁶ “preferential treatment ... and a special treatment”.⁵⁴⁷ That is, the preferential treatment would⁵⁴⁸ “grant rights to a person or entity that others would not have”,⁵⁴⁹ while⁵⁵⁰ “by contrast differential treatment rejects decisions based on privileged treatment”.⁵⁵¹ It was amongst contradicting circumstances that the *1976 Constitution* was adopted including its guidelines concerning religious freedom.

539 Miranda, Jorge, *Liberdade Religiosa Igrejas e Estado em Portugal*, Op. cit.

540 Original text in Portuguese: “desrespeitam os princípios constitucionais da liberdade e igualdade religiosa”.

541 Miranda, Jorge, *Liberdade Religiosa Igrejas e Estado em Portugal*, Op. cit., p. 130.

542 Original text in Portuguese: “conseguir obter a sua substituição ou a publicação de novas normas que estabeleçam a liberdade e a igualdade”.

543 Miranda, Jorge, *Liberdade Religiosa Igrejas e Estado em Portugal*, Op. cit.

544 Original text in Portuguese: “O entendimento dominante e acolhido pelos órgãos de fiscalização constitucional é que os princípios constitucionais se compadecem com um tratamento diferenciado das várias confissões, em razão do peso real que têm na sociedade ou, ... da sua diversa representatividade. O que não admitem, em caso algum, é um tratamento privilegiado ou, ao invés, discriminatório desta ou daquela confissão”.

545 Miranda, Jorge, *Liberdade Religiosa Igrejas e Estado em Portugal*, Op. cit.

546 Original text in Portuguese: “Um tratamento privilegiado ... e um tratamento diferenciado”.

547 Miranda, Jorge, *Liberdade Religiosa Igrejas e Estado em Portugal*, Op. cit.

548 Original text in Portuguese: “concederia a uma pessoa ou entidade direitos que outras não teriam”.

549 Miranda, Jorge, *Liberdade Religiosa Igrejas e Estado em Portugal*, Op. cit.

550 Original text in Portuguese: “um tratamento diferenciado, pelo contrário, repele o arbítrio desde que assente numa cuidadosa ponderação de situações e de valores”.

551 Miranda, Jorge, *Liberdade Religiosa Igrejas e Estado em Portugal*, Op. cit.

2.2.1.4 Constitutional guidelines on religious freedom

Freedom related with religion was provided for individuals as well as for institutions as prescribed in the Constitutional text,⁵⁵² “Freedom of conscience, religion and worship is inviolable (Article 41, paragraph 1)”.⁵⁵³ According to Miranda there are different levels in the definition of religious freedom which are,⁵⁵⁴ “The individual right to religious freedom; the institutional right; the guarantees of both; related rights; and, the interference of other rights”.⁵⁵⁵ The complementary aspects related to religious freedom included the right to privacy⁵⁵⁶ “(Article 26º, paragraph 1)”;⁵⁵⁷ the right to celebrate marriages according to law and the religious conviction of the *fiancés*⁵⁵⁸ “(Article 36º, paragraph 2)”;⁵⁵⁹ the parents’ right to educate their children including the choice of religion⁵⁶⁰ (Article 36, paragraph 5);⁵⁶¹ the prohibition on the State to impose a national programme of education and culture according to any philosophical, aesthetic, political, ideological or religious guidelines⁵⁶² (Article 43, paragraph 2);⁵⁶³ the prohibition of public education to be confessional⁵⁶⁴ (Article 41, paragraph 3);⁵⁶⁵ and, the guarantee of the right to create private schools to teach according to any religious project⁵⁶⁶ (Article 41, paragraph 4).”⁵⁶⁷ Miranda states,⁵⁶⁸

552 Original text in Portuguese: “A liberdade de consciência, de religião e de culto é inviolável (Arte. 41º, nº 1)”.

553 Miranda, Jorge, *Liberdade Religiosa Igrejas e Estado em Portugal*, Op. cit., pp. 124-125.

554 Original text in Portuguese: “O direito individual de liberdade religiosa; o direito institucional; as garantias de ambos; os direitos conexos e as interferências com outros direitos. E cabe depois referir as regras aplicáveis ao direito de liberdade religiosa como direito, cuja localização e cuja estrutura o fazem um direito, liberdade e garantia a par de outros (Art. 17º e título II da parte I), e não um direito económico, social e cultural (título III da mesma parte I)”.

555 Miranda, Jorge, *Liberdade Religiosa Igrejas e Estado em Portugal*, Op. cit., p. 124.

556 Original text in Portuguese: “ (Art. 26º, nº 1) ”.

557 Miranda, Jorge, *Liberdade Religiosa Igrejas e Estado em Portugal*, Op. cit., p. 125.

558 Original text in Portuguese: “ (Art. 36º, nº 2) ”.

559 Miranda, Jorge, *Liberdade Religiosa Igrejas e Estado em Portugal*, Op. cit., pp. 125-126.

560 Original text in Portuguese: “ (Art. 36º, nº 5) ”.

561 Miranda, Jorge, *Liberdade Religiosa Igrejas e Estado em Portugal*, Op. cit., p. 126.

562 Original text in Portuguese: “ (Art. 43º, nº 2) ”.

563 Miranda, Jorge, *Liberdade Religiosa Igrejas e Estado em Portugal*, Op. cit.

564 Original text in Portuguese: “ (Art. 41º, nº 3) ”.

565 Miranda, Jorge, *Liberdade Religiosa Igrejas e Estado em Portugal*, Op. cit.

566 Original text in Portuguese: “ (Art. 41º, nº 4) ”.

567 Miranda, Jorge, *Liberdade Religiosa Igrejas e Estado em Portugal*, Op. cit.

568 Original text in Portuguese: “A liberdade religiosa é um direito fundamental e, dentre os direitos fundamentais, pertence ao elenco dos que têm um regime jurídico-constitucional reforçado, os direitos, liberdades e garantias. Valem para ela, por conseguinte, todas as regras constitucionais sobre direitos fundamentais em geral e sobre direitos, liberdades e garantias em especial”.

Religious freedom is a fundamental right; and, among the fundamental rights it belongs to the group which has stronger legal and constitutional arrangements, rights, freedoms and guarantees. Therefore, connected to it are all constitutional rules on fundamental rights in general and rights, freedoms and guarantees in particular.⁵⁶⁹

The *1976 Constitution* continued the legislation brought from the *1940 Concordat* through the Additional Protocol to the Concordat (*Protocolo Adicional à Concordata*) which hindered the affirmation of the principle of religious freedom according to the spirit of *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. The legal guidelines of the *1971 Religious Liberty Act* continued active through the *1976 Constitution* until it was replaced in 2001 by Act No. 16/2001 (*Lei n° 16/2001*). As Miranda evokes,⁵⁷⁰ “The religious freedom bill of 1971 was repealed very late on the making of the democratic Constitution by a new law, *Law No. 16/2001*, based on the six major principles of freedom, equality, separation, of non-denominational, co-operation and tolerance (Articles 1 to 5 and 7)”.⁵⁷¹ Therefore, Miranda explains that due to the ambiguous influences related to religious freedom,⁵⁷² “there are still at present some deviations ... or legislative omissions”⁵⁷³ in the *1976 Constitution*.

During the transitional period from the dictatorship to democracy (1974-1976) the principle of religious freedom was initiating its settlement within legislation as well as increasingly integrating social consciousness. The growing social consciousness regarding the principle of freedom of religion was part of the democratic experience and religious entities welcomed the new regime.

2.3 RELIGIOUS REACTION TO THE NEW STATE

Portuguese religious institutions welcomed the new regime in spite of the fact that the fundamental rights enshrined in the *1976 Constitution* still posed constraints due to what Miranda labelled “deviations ... or legislative omissions”.⁵⁷⁴ The religious entities established in the country before 1974 experienced relief and in general they reacted positively to the new regime because the abuses against their fundamental rights and

⁵⁶⁹ Miranda, Jorge, *Liberdade Religiosa Igrejas e Estado em Portugal*, Op. cit., p. 127.

⁵⁷⁰ Original text in Portuguese: “A lei de liberdade religiosa de 1971 foi revogada – com grande atraso sobre a feitura da Constituição democrática – por uma nova lei, a Lei n° 16/2001, assente nos seis grandes princípios da liberdade, da igualdade, de separação, de não confessionalidade, de cooperação e de tolerância (Art. 1° a 5° e 7°) ”.

⁵⁷¹ Miranda, Jorge, *Liberdade Religiosa Igrejas e Estado em Portugal*, Op. cit., pp. 38-39.

⁵⁷² Original text in Portuguese: “A evolução não foi, no entanto, sem vicissitudes e perturbações e ainda subsistem na actualidade alguns desvios à igualdade (não tanto por violação positiva quanto por omissões legislativas) ”.

⁵⁷³ Miranda, Jorge, *Liberdade Religiosa Igrejas e Estado em Portugal*, Op. cit., p. 119.

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid.

structures had ended. During the transition time to democracy under scrutiny (1974-1976) there were mainly four religious groups established in Portugal of which two groups were of the Christian faith and these were the Roman Catholic Church and the Protestants/Evangelicals, and the other two were the Jewish and the Muslim. The study of the reaction of these four groups is relevant to be addressed because its study demonstrates the initial impact of the 1974 Revolution on religious freedom in Portugal.

2.3.1 THE REACTION OF THE ROMAN CATHOLICS

While the Armed Forces were involved with the 25 April, 1974 *coup d'état* and the Revolution the Portuguese Roman Catholic Episcopate of the Metropolis had adjourned their regular meeting to be held from 23 to 26 April in Fátima⁵⁷⁵ as mentioned in the previous chapter of this thesis. The Roman Catholic Bishops announced their support to the Revolution on 26 April, 1974, that is one day after the *coup d'état* by issuing a *communiqué* in which they addressed the new political reality,⁵⁷⁶

[Yesterday's] events ... will have a deep impact in the lives of the people for whom we have pastoral responsibility. In these circumstances, we formulate the hope that such events contribute to the good of the Portuguese society, to justice, to reconciliation and to the respect for all people.⁵⁷⁷

The Episcopate's views were later addressed in detail in a Pastoral Letter issued on 16 July, 1974 entitled *Os Bispos Falam do 25 de Abril, da Democracia e dos Partidos: Carta Pastoral do Episcopado Português*,⁵⁷⁸ "Christians have a unique contribution to make to build the city of man beyond that which is common to them and to build it with other citizens to whom they should set the example".⁵⁷⁹ The initial impression the Bishops made concerning the political turmoil, caused by the events on the 25 April, 1974 which was heading to the transformation of the social order, was labelled as a

575 Ruas, Henrique Barrilaro, Ed., *A Revolução das Flores: Do 25 de Abril ao Governo Provisório*, Op. cit., p. 283.

576 Original text in Portugal: "Os acontecimentos ... não deixarão de ter fundas repercussões na vida do povo de que têm a responsabilidade pastoral. Nestas circunstâncias, formulam o voto de que tais acontecimentos contribuam para o bem da sociedade portuguesa, na justiça, na reconciliação e no respeito por todas as pessoas".

577 Ruas, Henrique Barrilaro, Ed., *A Revolução das Flores: Do 25 de Abril ao Governo Provisório*, Op. cit.

578 Original text in Portuguese: "Os cristãos têm um contributo original a dar para a construção da cidade dos homens, além daquele que lhes é comum com os outros cidadãos e que devem dar de forma exemplar".

579 Conferência Episcopal da Metrópole, *Os Bispos Falam do 25 de Abril, da Democracia, e dos Partidos: Carta Pastoral do Episcopado Português – O Contributo dos Cristãos para a Vida Social e Política*, (Letter: Edição do Secretariado Geral do Episcopado, Lisboa. [Portugal]. 16 de Julho de 1974), p. 3.

liberation movement or even as an awakening,⁵⁸⁰ “Numerous forces were awakened and liberated in the life of the Portuguese”.⁵⁸¹

The Bishops understood that Christians had to contribute to social life in the fields of evangelical enlightenment of society as well as by engaging in the⁵⁸² “Christian animation of the temporal order”.⁵⁸³ Consequently, their Pastoral Letter had three purposes,⁵⁸⁴ the first was to help Christians to master well what was happening, but from a Christian perspective. The second was to indicate what the Christian concept of democracy was, and the third was to give instructions on the criterion to be followed regarding political options. The 25 April *coup d'état* was considered by the Bishops as the end of two historical periods,⁵⁸⁵ the end of the forty eight year period of⁵⁸⁶ “authoritarian regime”,⁵⁸⁷ and, the end of a period of five centuries⁵⁸⁸ “initiated by the maritime epic”.⁵⁸⁹

The Bishops presented an apology for the Church’s wrong doings related to her previous support of the New State,⁵⁹⁰ “[The Roman Catholic Church] accepts ... that both at hierarchy and at laity levels she committed faults during that period”.⁵⁹¹ The Pastoral Letter explains the period of the Estado Novo had been⁵⁹² “A double accident in the historic walk of the Portuguese people; it was an unsuccessful experience of democratic

580 Original text in Portuguese: “Libertadas ou despertadas numerosas forças na vida dos portugueses”.

581 Conferência Episcopal da Metrópole, *Os Bispos Falam do 25 de Abril, da Democracia, e dos Partidos: Carta Pastoral do Episcopado Português – O Contributo dos Cristãos para a Vida Social e Política*, Op. cit., p. 3.

582 Original text in Portuguese: “... animação cristã da ordem temporal”.

583 Conferência Episcopal da Metrópole, *Os Bispos Falam do 25 de Abril, da Democracia, e dos Partidos: Carta Pastoral do Episcopado Português – O Contributo dos Cristãos para a Vida Social e Política*, Op. cit.

584 Ibid., pp. 4-5.

585 Ibid., p. 7.

586 Original text in Portuguese: “regime autoritário agora derrubado”.

587 Conferência Episcopal da Metrópole, *Os Bispos Falam do 25 de Abril, da Democracia, e dos Partidos: Carta Pastoral do Episcopado Português – O Contributo dos Cristãos para a Vida Social e Política*, Op. cit.

588 Original text in Portuguese: “mais de metade da história pátria, viva nos mais profundos estratos da memória popular, iniciado pela epopeia marítima”.

589 Conferência Episcopal da Metrópole, *Os Bispos Falam do 25 de Abril, da Democracia, e dos Partidos: Carta Pastoral do Episcopado Português – O Contributo dos Cristãos para a Vida Social e Política*, Op. cit.

590 Original text in Portuguese: “[A Igreja Católica] aceita, porém, que, tanto a nível da hierarquia como do laicado, possam pesar sobre ela responsabilidades por erros cometidos ou partilhados”.

591 Conferência Episcopal da Metrópole, *Os Bispos Falam do 25 de Abril, da Democracia, e dos Partidos: Carta Pastoral do Episcopado Português – O Contributo dos Cristãos para a Vida Social e Política*, Op. cit., p. 10.

592 Original text in Portuguese: “um duplo acidente na caminhada histórica do Povo português: uma experiência de vida democrática mal sucedida ...; seguida ... de um regime ... de renovação nacional [que] não conseguiu escapar ... à sedução de modelos totalitários”.

life ... followed by ... a scheme of national renewal ... [which] could not escape the seduction of other totalitarian models”.⁵⁹³ Consequently, the Bishops advocated that the Portuguese Empire should be dismantled,⁵⁹⁴ “A slow but progressive decolonization”.⁵⁹⁵ Adding to the decolonization process the Pastoral Letter addressed the need for Christians to choose what kind of democracy should be implemented in the country. The Pastoral Letter pointed out three types of democratic systems from which to choose. The first was the⁵⁹⁶ “liberal concept”⁵⁹⁷ which promotes capitalism and results in some people being very rich and the majority poor. The second was the⁵⁹⁸ “Marxist concept”⁵⁹⁹ which focuses on establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist collectivism. The Marxist political system is contrary to Christianity and fights what it considers⁶⁰⁰ “alienations pertaining to the state and religion”.⁶⁰¹ The third was the⁶⁰² “Christian concept”⁶⁰³ which envisions the human being as free, responsible and in solidarity towards other human beings.

According to the Pastoral Letter, the Christian concept of democracy was different and better from the other two democratic models because it promotes⁶⁰⁴ “the common good, respects competence ... and supplies for social needs”.⁶⁰⁵ The Bishops stated that the Christian concept of democracy flows from life itself as well as from Christian doctrine,

593 Conferência Episcopal da Metrópole, *Os Bispos Falam do 25 de Abril, da Democracia, e dos Partidos: Carta Pastoral do Episcopado Português – O Contributo dos Cristãos para a Vida Social e Política*, Op. cit., p. 7.

594 Original text in Portuguese: “uma lenta mas progressiva descolonização”.

595 Conferência Episcopal da Metrópole, *Os Bispos Falam do 25 de Abril, da Democracia, e dos Partidos: Carta Pastoral do Episcopado Português – O Contributo dos Cristãos para a Vida Social e Política*, Op. cit., p. 8.

596 Original text in Portuguese: “o conceito liberal”.

597 Conferência Episcopal da Metrópole, *Os Bispos Falam do 25 de Abril, da Democracia, e dos Partidos: Carta Pastoral do Episcopado Português – O Contributo dos Cristãos para a Vida Social e Política*, Op. cit., p. 19.

598 Original text in Portuguese: “o conceito marxista”.

599 Conferência Episcopal da Metrópole, *Os Bispos Falam do 25 de Abril, da Democracia, e dos Partidos: Carta Pastoral do Episcopado Português – O Contributo dos Cristãos para a Vida Social e Política*, Op. cit.

600 Original text in Portuguese: “as restantes alienações, entre as quais a estatal e a religiosa”.

601 Conferência Episcopal da Metrópole, *Os Bispos Falam do 25 de Abril, da Democracia, e dos Partidos: Carta Pastoral do Episcopado Português – O Contributo dos Cristãos para a Vida Social e Política*, Op. cit., p. 20.

602 Original text in Portuguese: “o conceito cristão”.

603 Conferência Episcopal da Metrópole, *Os Bispos Falam do 25 de Abril, da Democracia, e dos Partidos: Carta Pastoral do Episcopado Português – O Contributo dos Cristãos para a Vida Social e Política*, Op. cit., p. 21.

604 Original text in Portuguese: “o bem comum, no respeito da competência dos organismos intermédios e suprimindo as suas eventuais carências”.

605 Conferência Episcopal da Metrópole, *Os Bispos Falam do 25 de Abril, da Democracia, e dos Partidos: Carta Pastoral do Episcopado Português – O Contributo dos Cristãos para a Vida Social e Política*, Op. cit.

and so it is⁶⁰⁶ “realistic”.⁶⁰⁷ Distinguishing between ‘people’ and ‘masses’ the Episcopate cite Pope Pius XII’s message,⁶⁰⁸ “The ‘masses’ ... are the greatest enemy of genuine democracy and of its ideal of freedom and equality”.⁶⁰⁹ In their Pastoral Letter the Bishops argued that the building of a ‘people’ required the respect for individuals’ human rights as the base for a true democracy,⁶¹⁰

In the Christian conception, democracy, more than a mere form of Government of nations is a system of social life in which the human being, far from being considered a mere object or passive element is the subject, the foundation and the end of all expressions of that life.⁶¹¹

The Portuguese Episcopate was of the opinion that the democratic social life and true democracy does not sacrifice the present society for the good of a future one. Instead, it faces the human being as a person, respecting his or her dignity and his or her human rights. That is, according to the Episcopate’s Pastoral Letter, true democracy requires⁶¹²

A sense of service that supposes an accurate moral conscience and a strong sense of fraternal solidarity... It is especially at this level of the spiritual foundations of true democracy that the Church has an important role to play in achieving it... As Pius XII ... claims the Church has the mission to proclaim ... the dignity of ... [the human being] as well as his or her vocation as a child of God.⁶¹³

Consequently, the Bishops argued in their Pastoral Letter that true democracy requires a multiparty system through which individual views are expressed freely and so Christians engage in the national political debate as well as in the decision making processes which involves political parties. Concerning the possible formation of a Christian political party Cardinal Patriarch of Lisbon Dom Manuel José Macário do Nascimento Clemente explained that in 1974 the Roman Catholic Bishops had considered supporting that idea. However, they concluded their Church did not have such a mandate thinking rather that

606 Original text in Portuguese: “realista”.

607 Conferência Episcopal da Metrópole, *Os Bispos Falam do 25 de Abril, da Democracia, e dos Partidos: Carta Pastoral do Episcopado Português – O Contributo dos Cristãos para a Vida Social e Política*, Op. cit.

608 Original text in Portuguese: “massa ... é inimiga capital da verdadeira democracia e do seu ideal de liberdade e igualdade”.

609 Conferência Episcopal da Metrópole, *Os Bispos Falam do 25 de Abril, da Democracia, e dos Partidos: Carta Pastoral do Episcopado Português – O Contributo dos Cristãos para a Vida Social e Política*, Op. cit., p. 22.

610 Original text in Portuguese: “Na conceção Cristã, a democracia, mais que simples forma de governo das nações, é um sistema de vida social em que o homem, longe de ser considerado simples objeto ou elemento passivo, é, pelo contrário, sujeito, fundamento e fim de todas as expressões dessa vida”.

611 Conferência Episcopal da Metrópole, *Os Bispos Falam do 25 de Abril, da Democracia, e dos Partidos: Carta Pastoral do Episcopado Português – O Contributo dos Cristãos para a Vida Social e Política*, Op. cit.

612 Original text in Portuguese: “sentido de serviço que supõe uma apurada consciência moral e um forte sentido de solidariedade fraterna. É sobretudo a este nível das bases espirituais da verdadeira democracia, que a Igreja tem papel importante a desempenhar na sua realização”.

613 Conferência Episcopal da Metrópole, *Os Bispos Falam do 25 de Abril, da Democracia, e dos Partidos: Carta Pastoral do Episcopado Português – O Contributo dos Cristãos para a Vida Social e Política*, Op. cit., pp. 23-24.

she should only engage in her spiritual and social ministry which was the salvation of souls. In a televised interview conducted by António José Teixeira during the program ‘A Propósito’ the Cardinal said,⁶¹⁴ “About 40 years ago the Bishops pondered if they should create a political party supported by the Church. However, they decided not to follow that direction”.⁶¹⁵ Dom Manuel Clemente recalled the above mentioned Pastoral Letter,⁶¹⁶

The [Roman Catholic] Church has no political party or parties. Moreover, the hierarchy, except in extreme cases, does not have to point out what kind of political programs or parties the Christian believer must refuse or endorse... We must remember that no party or political movement can legitimately arrogate being an exclusive or a privileged defender of the thought and of the sole interest of the Church.⁶¹⁷

Clearly the Episcopate’s Letter gave moral guidelines for the political involvement of the Roman Catholic faithful which should be in accordance with their Christian conscience,⁶¹⁸ “Even if Christians are free in their option to choose political parties, this freedom has limits. They cannot opt to get involved and adhere to principles that are incompatible with the Christian faith they profess. It is a matter of coherence”.⁶¹⁹ The Pastoral Letter concluded by acknowledging that in the past the State had asked her to closely engage with politics but in the new democratic regime the relationship between the Roman Catholic Church and the State had been altered,⁶²⁰

As in the past, the Church is present in this decisive moment in the history of Portugal, which is also largely her own story... Free from today’s commitments to the temporal order which in

614 Original text in Portuguese: “Os bispos ponderaram acerca de 40 anos se deveriam criar um partido político da Igreja. Decidiram que não”.

615 Teixeira, António José, *Entrevista com Dom Manuel Clemente – Cardeal Patriarca de Lisboa*, (Interview: Programa ‘A Propósito’. Broadcasted by SIC Internacional. SIC – Sociedade Independente de Comunicação SA. Camaxide. [Portugal]. Program broadcasted at 23:00 pm on 19 December, 2013).

616 Original text in Portuguese: “A Igreja [Católica Romana] não tem partido ou partidos seus. E a hierarquia, salvo casos extremos, não tem que apontar aos cristãos os programas ou partidos que devem perfiar ou recusar... Importa recordar que nenhum partido ou movimento político se pode legitimamente arvorar em defensor exclusivo ou privilegiado do pensamento e interesse da Igreja”.

617 Conferência Episcopal da Metrópole, *Os Bispos Falam do 25 de Abril, da Democracia, e dos Partidos: Carta Pastoral do Episcopado Português – O Contributo dos Cristãos para a Vida Social e Política*, Op. cit., p. 30.

618 Original text in Portuguese: “Se os cristãos são livres nas suas opções partidárias, essa liberdade tem limites. Estão-lhe vedadas as opções que impliquem adesão a princípios ou tomadas de posição incompatíveis com o cristianismo que professam. É uma questão de coerência”.

619 Conferência Episcopal da Metrópole, *Os Bispos Falam do 25 de Abril, da Democracia, e dos Partidos: Carta Pastoral do Episcopado Português – O Contributo dos Cristãos para a Vida Social e Política*, Op. cit.

620 Original text in Portuguese: “Como no passado, a Igreja presente neste momento decisivo da história de Portugal, que é em grande parte também a sua própria história... Liberta hoje de compromissos de ordem temporal que os séculos passados lhe pediram que assumisse, ela está consciente de que o seu contributo para a marcha do País se confina ao essencial da sua missão”.

past centuries have asked her to take, she is well aware that her contribution for the march of the country is confined to the essence of her mission.⁶²¹

Nevertheless, Dom Francisco Maria da Silva the Archbishop of Braga (1910-1977) had a different perception on the meaning of the Revolution initiated on the 25 April, 1974. According to Avelino Barroso in *O Bispo, o Homem e o Contra Revolucionário!*⁶²²

It is after the 25 April that the Archbishop of Braga reassured many Portuguese and faced so many others! Patently, the shepherd of souls was truly converted in an anti-revolutionary militant!... Dom Francisco said that the historic day, 25 April, 1974, was for him of expectation. However, the next day it had already been a disillusion!⁶²³

For Dom Francisco the⁶²⁴ “winds”⁶²⁵ trying to settle in Portugal coming from the Communist⁶²⁶ “Were winds bringing disgrace. Therefore, the Church could not be distracted!”⁶²⁷ Furthermore, Robinson states the words of the Archbishop of Braga probably described the sentiment of most Roman Catholics including prelates and priests in which the struggle was viewed as having a spiritual nature, that is, a fight between the forces of God against the forces of Satan. As Robinson puts it,

To conquer the masses, the Communists began the struggle against the Church. She must accept the struggle not in terms of man against man but Christ against Satan. We are called upon to fight for God or against Him. To draw back would be betrayal and betrayal would be death!⁶²⁸

During the summer of 1974 a multiparty system was on the make through which the Roman Catholic Church managed to convey its position on the new system of Portuguese politics. Nonetheless, she was ready to allow her members to engage in any party that supported Christianity, either from the rightwing or from the leftwing, which was in line with the tendency steaming from the Second Vatican Council as R.A.H. Robinson points out in *Contemporary Portugal: a history*,

Since the Second Vatican Council [Roman] Catholics were encourage to join any party which was not anti-Christian and Catholics were indeed to be found in political organizations from the ultra-Left to the far Right. In their Pastoral Letter of 16 July [1974] the Episcopate came

621 Conferência Episcopal da Metrópole, *Os Bispos Falam do 25 de Abril, da Democracia, e dos Partidos: Carta Pastoral do Episcopado Português – O Contributo dos Cristãos para a Vida Social e Política*, Op. cit., p. 39.

622 Original text in Portuguese: “é com o pós 25 de Abril que o Arcebispo de Braga vai tranquilizar tantos portugueses e afrontar tantos outros! E é de peito feito que o pastor de almas se vai converter num verdadeiro militante antirrevolucionário assumido! Dom Francisco terá dito que o histórico dia 25 de Abril de 1974 foi, para si, de expectativa mas o dia seguinte já havia sido de desilusão!”.

623 Barroso, Avelino, *O Bispo, o Homem e o Contra/Revolucionário!* (News report: Jornal SOL, Lisboa [Portugal]. Published on 31 August, 2009. <http://comunidade.sol.pt/>. Accessed on 19 December, 2013), pp. 4-5.

624 Original text in Portuguese: “ventos”.

625 Barroso, Avelino, *O Bispo, o Homem e o Contra/Revolucionário!* Op. cit., p. 6.

626 Original text in Portuguese: “eram ventos que traziam desgraça. E a Igreja não podia distrair-se!”

627 Barroso, Avelino, *O Bispo, o Homem e o Contra/Revolucionário!* Op. cit.

628 Robinson, R. A. H., *Contemporary Portugal: a history*, Op. cit., p. 244.

out in favour of ‘the democratic way’ but the faithful could not support Marxist or classical liberal parties. Together with the PPD, the new group that seemed to reflect the official Catholic outlook most closely was the CDS.⁶²⁹

Roman Catholic believers assimilated Pope John XXIII’s encyclical message *Pacem in Terris* published on 11 April, 1963 which by now had an extraordinary impact on some circles of the Portuguese Roman Catholic Church, particularly in the Diocese of Porto, which was clear,

The world’s Creator has stamped man’s inmost being with an order revealed to man by his conscience; and his conscience insists on his preserving it. Men ‘show the work of the law written in their hearts. Their conscience bears witness to them.’⁶³⁰

This message implied the establishment of a new order of things in the world, as later Pope Paul VI also stated in his discourse to the UN on 4 October, 1965,⁶³¹

What you proclaim here are the basic rights and duties of humankind his or her dignity his or her freedom and above all religious freedom ... [Consequently, it is necessary] to think again on our common origin, our history and our common destiny.⁶³²

After a decade the messages of Pope John XXIII and Pope Paul VI produced fruits in the minds and hearts of the Portuguese Roman Catholic; that is, as Estevão states,⁶³³

The appeals ... from John XXIII ... were constant practice with Paul VI. [Therefore, initiatives were taken such as] ... the case of the Rato Chapel, ... the document [known as Resolution Concerning Peace (*Resolução sobre a Paz*)] distributed in the [Roman] Catholic Churches of Porto in 1969 as well as the Vigil of S. Domingos held on the same year.⁶³⁴

The Popes and the Second Vatican Council encouraged Portuguese Roman Catholics to live their citizenship in a context of secularism to which they responded positively. Promoting human rights, Pope John XXIII’s Encyclical *Pacem in Terris* was celebrated by the Portuguese Bishops ten years later and according to Estêvão the Bishops’ celebration of the *Pacem in Terris* implied,⁶³⁵ “The affirmation of citizenship and secularism within [Roman] Catholicism ... as unavoidable and ... an imperative attitude to

629 Ibid., p. 205.

630 John XXIII, Pope, *Pacem in Terris*, (Encyclical: by Pope John XXIII on Establishing Universal Peace in Truth, Justice, Charity, and Liberty. April 11, 1963. <http://www.vatican.va/>. Accessed on 23 January, 2014), p. 1.

631 Original text in Portuguese: “O que vós proclamais, aqui, são os direitos e os deveres fundamentais do homem, a sua dignidade, a sua liberdade, e antes de tudo a liberdade religiosa... [Assim, é necessário] pensar de novo na nossa origem comum, na nossa história, no nosso destino comum”.

632 John XXIII, Pope, *Pacem in Terris*, Op. cit.

633 Original text in Portuguese: “Os apelos...desde João XXIII...eram prática constante com Paulo VI. [Iniciativas de católicos]... Caso da Capela do Rato... [e também o] documento [*Resolução sobre a Paz*] distribuído nas Igrejas do Porto em 1969 e a Vigília de S. Domingos no mesmo ano”.

634 Estêvão, Nuno, *Os Meios Católicos Perante a Guerra Colonial*, Op. cit., p. 257.

635 Original text in Portuguese: “A afirmação da cidadania e da laicidade no interior do catolicismo ... [era] incontornável e ... um imperativo”.

be taken”.⁶³⁶ Estêvão underlines that within the Roman Catholic faithful there was a consciousness of the necessity to transform society which implied a call for⁶³⁷ “The intervention of [Roman] Catholics as agents of that process”.⁶³⁸ A society composed by a large majority of [Roman] Catholics who increasingly supported the message of Pope John XXIII and Pope Paul VI concerning peace in the world explains the popular success of the 1974 Revolution.

The other above mentioned Pastoral Letter entitled *The Bishops Speak About the 25 April, of Democracy and About Political Parties: A Pastoral Letter* by the Portuguese Bishops (*Os Bispos Falam do 25 de Abril, da Democracia e dos Partidos: Carta Pastoral do Episcopado Português*) demonstrates the Roman Catholic leadership was ready for a new political system to be implemented in the country. The Pastoral Letter was published about two months after the *coup d'état* on July 1974⁶³⁹ in which the Bishops state,⁶⁴⁰ “The correct assessment of the passing hour ... implies the need to detect the deep dynamism ... in national life.”⁶⁴¹ The Bishops also pointed out in this Pastoral Letter that,⁶⁴² “There is no doubt that the Movement of 25 April was made under the banner of liberty.”⁶⁴³ Therefore, the Roman Catholic Church was prepared to engage in the transformation of the New State into a democracy while Protestants/Evangelicals portrayed a much low profile positioning.

2.3.2 THE REACTION OF THE PROTESTANTS / EVANGELICALS / PENTECOSTALS

Comparing membership between the Roman Catholic and the Protestants/Evangelicals is needed to understand how different both religious groups were at the period being addressed 1974 to 1976. Statistical information to compare religious membership will be studied as well as legal constrains that were coming to an end. The end of those legal

636 Estêvão, Nuno, *Os Meios Católicos Perante a Guerra Colonial*, Op. cit., p. 260.

637 Original text in Portuguese: “e da intervenção dos próprios católicos como agentes desse processo”.

638 Estêvão, Nuno, *Os Meios Católicos Perante a Guerra Colonial*, Op. cit.

639 [?], *Os Bispos Falam do 25 de Abril, da Democracia e dos Partidos: Carta Pastoral do Episcopado Português*, (Edição do Secretariado Geral do Episcopado. Campo Mártires da Pátria, 43 – 1º Esq. Lisboa 1. [Portugal]. Julho de 1974).

640 Original text in Portuguese: “A correta apreciação da hora que passa implica ... detetar os dinamismos profundos ... na vida nacional”.

641 [?], *Os Bispos Falam do 25 de Abril, da Democracia e dos Partidos: Carta Pastoral do Episcopado Português*, Op. cit., p. 7.

642 Original text in Portuguese: “Não há dúvida de que o movimento de 25 de Abril se fez sob o signo da libertação”.

643 [?], *Os Bispos Falam do 25 de Abril, da Democracia e dos Partidos: Carta Pastoral do Episcopado Português*, Op. cit.

constrains benefited the Protestants and the Evangelicals as a direct result from the *coup d'état*, yet these Christian groups did not actively engage in national politics.

Statistical information comparing religious membership explains the standpoint of the various Christian denominations and their power of intervention in Portuguese society. According to J. Manuel Nazareth in *Conjuntura demográfica da população portuguesa no período de 1970-1980: aspectos globais* the Portuguese population on 31 December, 1974 was⁶⁴⁴ “9 218 400”.⁶⁴⁵ A study conducted in 2011 by the Centre for the Study of Religions and Cultures of the Portuguese Roman Catholic University reports that while Roman Catholic members were decreasing the number of Protestants/Evangelicals was increasing in Portugal. In *Portugal tem menos católicos e mais protestantes/evangélicos* Rute Araújo confirms,⁶⁴⁶ “There are fewer and fewer Roman Catholics in Portugal and increasingly more Protestants/Evangelicals”. According to Araújo,⁶⁴⁷

We can observe a relative decrease of the population who declares itself [Roman] Catholic and an increase in the percentage relative to other positions of religious affiliation, with a particular emphasis on the Protestant universe (including Evangelicals), according to the interpretative report “2011 Survey” comparing 1999 data with another survey conducted late last year.⁶⁴⁸

Araújo mentions that according to the “Report 2011”⁶⁴⁹ the Portuguese who considered themselves as Roman Catholic decreased from “86,9%”⁶⁵⁰ in 1999 to “79,5%”⁶⁵¹ in 2011, while the Protestants/Evangelicals increased from “0,3%”⁶⁵² in 1999 to “2,8%”⁶⁵³ in 2011. However, these figures are taken only from 1999 onwards, which give a gap of 25 years after the 25 April, 1974 when the Protestants/Evangelicals were certainly less than in 1999. Regarding a statistic made in 1976 about Protestants/Evangelicals, Gerald

644 Original text in Portuguese: “1974 – População em 31 de Dezembro 9 218 400”.

645 Nazareth, J. Manuel, *Conjuntura demográfica da população portuguesa no período de 1970-80: aspectos globais*, (Article: *Análise Social* vol. xx (81-82), 1984-2.º-3.º, 237-262. *Revista do Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade de Lisboa (ICS)*. Lisboa, Portugal. <http://analisesocial.ics.ul.pt/>. Accessed on 24 January, 2014), p. 240.

646 Original text in Portuguese: “Há cada vez menos católicos em Portugal e cada vez mais protestantes / evangélicos”.

647 Original text in Portuguese: ““Pode observar-se um decréscimo relativo da população que se declara católica e um incremento da percentagem relativa às outras posições de pertença religiosa, com um particular destaque para o universo protestante (incluindo os evangélicos), refere o relatório interpretativo do “Inquérito 2011” que compara dados de 1999 com um outro inquérito realizado no final do ano passado”.

648 Araújo, Rute, Ed., *Portugal tem menos católicos e mais protestantes / evangélicos*, (News report: *Jornal de Notícias*. Controlinveste Media SGPS, S.A. Lisboa. <http://www.jn.pt/>. Accessed on 19 December, 2013), p. 1.

649 Ibid.

650 Ibid.

651 Ibid.

652 Ibid.

653 Ibid.

C. Ericson informs in *Nascidos para Crescer: O Crescimento da Igreja em Portugal* that⁶⁵⁴ “The approximate religious composition of Portuguese society in the late seventies was as follows: ... [Roman] Catholic Church 94,1%; Protestants 0,8%; and, Others: 5,1%”.⁶⁵⁵ According to Ericson, these figures were out of a population of “9 750 000 ([in] 1976)”.⁶⁵⁶

There is a serious discrepancy between the figures presented by Ericson and those by Araújo that demonstrate a lack of accuracy of the surveying methods back in the seventies or that the “2011 Survey”⁶⁵⁷ was not accurate. While Ericson states Protestants/Evangelicals were “0,8%”⁶⁵⁸ of the Portuguese population in 1976 Araújo mentioned that Protestants/Evangelicals were only “0,3%”⁶⁵⁹ of the entire population. Note that this data was published 25 years later in 1999 from a total population of 9 218 400 which had decreased from 9 750 000 in 1976. Barata *et al* inform that the number of Protestants/Evangelicals in Portugal was⁶⁶⁰ “About 150 thousand Evangelicals in Portugal according to the statistics of 1997”.⁶⁶¹ The figure referred to by Barata *et al* correspond to 1,46% of the entire population which significantly differs from Araújo’s 0,3%.⁶⁶² Nevertheless, 0,8% of Protestants/Evangelicals is an insignificant figure compared with 94,1% of Roman Catholics existing in the country in 1976 and the number of Protestants/Evangelicals grew steadily to 2,8% of the population in 2011.

The reason behind the growth of the Protestants/Evangelicals is linked with the increasing implementation of freedom of religion in the country while legal constraints are less than those experienced prior to the Revolution. The legal constraints posed by the policies of the New State began to decrease before the *coup d’état* with the promulgation of the *Religious Freedom Act* in 1971 according to Luís Aguiar Santos in *O Protestantismo em Portugal (Séculos XIX e XX): Linhas de Força da Sua História e*

654 Original text in Portuguese: “A composição religiosa aproximada da sociedade portuguesa no final da década de setenta era a seguinte: ... Igreja Católica: 94,1%; Protestantes: 0,8%; Outros: 5,1%”.

655 *Nascidos Para Crescer: O Crescimento da Igreja em Portugal*, (Núcleo, Centro de Publicações Cristãs, Lda. Queluz, Portugal. 1992), p. 173.

656 Ibid.

657 Araújo, Rute, Ed., *Portugal tem menos católicos e mais protestantes / evangélicos*, (News report: Jornal de Notícias. Controlinveste Media SGPS, S.A. Lisboa. <http://www.jn.pt/>. Accessed on 19 December, 2013), p. 1.

658 Ericson, Gerald C., *Nascidos Para Crescer: O Crescimento da Igreja em Portugal*, Op. cit.

659 Araújo, Rute, Ed., *Portugal tem menos católicos e mais protestantes / evangélicos*, Op. cit., p. 1.

660 Original text in Portuguese: “cerca de 150 mil evangélicos de Portugal segundo as estatísticas de 1997”.

661 Barata, António C., et al, *Línguas de Fogo: História da Assembleia de Deus de Lisboa*, Op. cit., p. 145.

662 Araújo, Rute, Ed., *Portugal tem menos católicos e mais protestantes / evangélicos*, Op. cit.

Historiografia,⁶⁶³ “The change in Portuguese legislation began with the *Religious Freedom Act* of 1971, proposed by members of the liberal wing of the National Assembly of which almost all were [Roman] Catholic”.⁶⁶⁴ However, the *1971 Religious Liberty Act* only permitted the registration of a denomination or a church if they had a minimum of⁶⁶⁵ “five thousand members”.⁶⁶⁶ Although innovative in Portuguese legislation and contrary to the *Constitution of 1933* and the *Civil Code of 1966* Santos refers that the *Religious Freedom Act of 1971* was only fully applied after the Revolution in 25 April, 1974 and the adoption of the new *1976 Constitution*.⁶⁶⁷ He wrote: “The political changes occurring since 1974 and specially the political stabilization introduced by the *1976 Constitution* (Third Republic) created the conditions for the *1971 Act* to be applied”.⁶⁶⁸

Santos underlines that during the First and the Second Republics the establishment of legal principles of tolerance did not guarantee freedom until the enactment of the *1971 Religious Freedom Act* and the *1976 Constitution* brought true liberty to the arena of religion. The Portuguese tendency to slow the process in which legislation is adopted must be discussed because in many instances legislation is later regulated by extraordinary diplomas with the aim of interpreting and guiding the application of those laws in daily life. According to Santos this practice generates⁶⁶⁹ “A tangled legal capacity whereupon it gives the State the ability to give with one hand and take away with the other”.⁶⁷⁰ Adding to this, Santos argues,⁶⁷¹

663 Original text in Portuguese: “A grande alteração no panorama legal português foi a lei da liberdade religiosa de 1971, proposta pelos membros da chamada ‘ala liberal’ da Assembleia Nacional, os quais vinham todos ou quase todos dos meios laicais católicos”.

664 Santos, Luís Aguiar Santos, *O Protestantismo em Portugal (Séculos XIX e XX): Linhas de Força da Sua História e Historiografia*, (Paper: Conferência apresentada ao I Colóquio Internacional de Investigação da História do Protestantismo em Espanha e Portugal (Madrid, 26 a 28 de Abril de 2000). Article: Revista Lusitânia Sacra. Centro de Estudos de História Religiosa. Faculdade de Teologia. Universidade Católica Portuguesa. Lisboa. 2ª série, 12. 2000), pp. 45-46.

665 Original text in Portuguese: “permitiam a qualquer grupo de cinco mil cidadãos legalizar um grupo religioso ou uma Igreja”.

666 Santos, Luís Aguiar Santos, *O Protestantismo em Portugal (Séculos XIX e XX): Linhas de Força da Sua História e Historiografia*, Op. cit.

667 Original text in Portuguese: “As mudanças políticas ocorridas a partir de 1974, e sobretudo a estabilização política introduzida pela *Constituição de 1976* (III República), criaram as condições para a lei de 1971 poder aplicar-se plenamente”.

668 Santos, Luís Aguiar Santos, *O Protestantismo em Portugal (Séculos XIX e XX): Linhas de Força da Sua História e Historiografia*, Op. cit., p. 46.

669 Original text in Portuguese: “Um emaranhado jurídico que dava ao Estado a capacidade de dar com uma mão e tirar com a outra”.

670 Santos, Luís Aguiar Santos, *O Protestantismo em Portugal (Séculos XIX e XX): Linhas de Força da Sua História e Historiografia*, Op. cit., p. 47.

There's only full freedom when the abstract rules of tolerance match a practice of non-interference in the activities of each religious group and in the competition between them. In Portugal, however, the *1971 Act* was the first legislation that defined the principle of non-interference which only became the dominant political culture after the *1976 [Constitution]* permitted the implementation of the *1971 Act*.⁶⁷²

Evidently, the alteration in legislation and the new social conditions created by the *coup d'état* for its application benefited the Protestant/Evangelical Churches according to *Os Evangélicos em Portugal: O Século XX*,⁶⁷³

The *Religious Freedom Act of 1971* which conveyed the official recognition of the Evangelical community as well as the 25 April, 1974 Revolution granted Evangelicals ... freedom of expression to legally recognize the statutes of new churches ... and altered the way in which the Evangelicals dealt with the local and central administration.⁶⁷⁴

Due to the uncertainty of the political unrest, and the threat posed by the independence of the colonies, many Protestant/Evangelical believers returned to Portugal as the result of the *coup d'état*, which caused growth of the Protestant/Evangelical membership in Portugal. According to Ericson,⁶⁷⁵

Evangelical churches have undeniably been favoured by the massive migration [of Portuguese citizens] in the mid-seventies. Hundreds of faithful Christians who had been evangelized and disciple overseas were among those who fled the war in most former colonies and returned to Portugal in search of a new and favourable life.⁶⁷⁶

However, the deeper meaning of the *coup d'état* for the Protestants/Evangelicals was that for the first time in 831 years of national history Portugal adopted a regime which favoured the growth of various forms of religion including the Protestant/Evangelical churches, as Ericson refers,⁶⁷⁷

671 Original text in Portuguese: “Só há plena liberdade se às regras abstratas de tolerância corresponder uma prática de não interferência nas ações de cada grupo religioso e na concorrência entre eles. Ora, em Portugal, só a lei de 1971 definiu pela primeira vez uma opção pelo princípio da não interferência e só a cultura política dominante desde 1976 permitiu a sua efetivação”.

672 Santos, Luís Aguiar Santos, *O Protestantismo em Portugal (Séculos XIX e XX): Linhas de Força da Sua História e Historiografia*, Op. cit.

673 Original text in Portuguese: “Apenas com a Lei da Liberdade Religiosa de 1971 – que consignou o reconhecimento oficial da comunidade evangélica – e com a revolução de 25 de Abril de 1974, os evangélicos passaram a dispor ... de uma liberdade de expressão, quer quanto à abertura de trabalhos, quer quanto à comunicação social e opinião pública, quer quanto ao reconhecimento de constituição legal junto da Administração local e central”.

674 [?], *Os Evangélicos em Portugal: O Século XX*, (Irmãos.net. Portal informativo referente aos cristãos, conhecidos por “Assembleias de Irmãos” ou “Casa de Oração”, em Portugal. <http://irmaos.net/>. Accessed on 19 December, 2013).

675 Original text in Portuguese: “As Igrejas Evangélicas foram inegavelmente favorecidas por esta imigração massiva em meados da década de setenta. Centenas de cristãos fiéis que tinham sido evangelizados e disciplinados fora do território metropolitano contavam-se entre os que fugiram ao estado de guerra prevaemente em boa parte dessas antigas colónias, para virem em busca de uma vida nova e mais favorável em Portugal continental”.

676 Ericson, Gerald C., *Nascidos Para Crescer: O Crescimento da Igreja em Portugal*, Op. cit., p. 171.

677 Original text in Portuguese: “Nos meses que se seguiram à revolução do 25 de Abril de 1974, a maior parte dos evangélicos tomou como dado adquirido que se estava a entrar numa nova era em termos de história religiosa. Pela primeira vez em 831 anos

In the months after the 25 April, 1974 Revolution Evangelicals came to realise that they were entering a new era in their religious history. For the first time in the 831 years of the history of the country Portugal provided opportunities for the growth of their [non-Roman Catholic] churches.⁶⁷⁸

Those returning from the colonies became members of the Protestant/Evangelical Churches; they were perseverant and prepared to embrace change because their lives had suddenly been disrupted. Ericson states that the involvement of the Protestants/Evangelicals returned from the colonies⁶⁷⁹ “Deepened the ministry and growth of many Evangelical churches”.⁶⁸⁰ Nevertheless, some church leaders were reluctant to adopt new ideas for evangelism and continued to use the old evangelistic methods utilized before the 25 April, 1974. This prevented their churches from seizing the opportunity for growth immediately after the *coup d’état*,⁶⁸¹

In most denominational groups some leaders have been reluctant to adopt and implement new ideas... It was difficult for those religious leaders to adjust their mindsets to the new environment of openness and tolerance towards any political ideology or religious belief.⁶⁸²

The period of openness and tolerance (1974-1976) was an opportunity for Protestants/Evangelicals to share their message freely. However, it needs to be remembered that the Protestants/Evangelicals had been socially ostracized and discriminated against for a long time, and so they still struggled to assert themselves as non-Roman Catholic Christians in their new capacity as first class citizens. Adding to this, most Protestants/Evangelicals did not engage in political activities because their church leaders did not encourage it. In *Interview 4* (See Interviews Conducted) Lino said,⁶⁸³ “Regarding civic intervention I think there is still a long way to go for pastors and local churches, but they should intervene in society”.⁶⁸⁴

de historial como país, Portugal proporcionava oportunidades de crescimento da igreja como nunca tinham sido possíveis até então”.

678 Ericson, Gerald C., *Nascidos Para Crescer: O Crescimento da Igreja em Portugal*, Op. cit.

679 Original text in Portuguese: “aprofundaram o ministério e o crescimento de muitas igrejas evangélicas”.

680 Ericson, Gerald C., *Nascidos Para Crescer: O Crescimento da Igreja em Portugal*, Op. cit., p. 172.

681 Original text in Portuguese: “Na maior parte dos grupos denominacionais alguns líderes mostraram-se relutantes em adotarem e implementarem novas ideias ... Foi difícil para esses líderes ajustarem os seus quadros mentais a um ambiente de franca abertura e tolerância para toda e qualquer ideologia ou credo político e religioso”.

682 Ericson, Gerald C., *Nascidos Para Crescer: O Crescimento da Igreja em Portugal*, Op. cit.

683 Original text in Portuguese: “do ponto de vista ... da intervenção cívica ... acho que há um largo caminho a percorrer para que os pastores e as comunidades locais de fé, portanto as igrejas, intervenham na sociedade”.

684 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 4 – with Rev Dr Pastor Brissos Lino*, Op. cit., p. 6.

Pastor Luís Reis said in *Interview 12* (See Interviews Conducted) that,⁶⁸⁵ “... before, in the consulate of Marcelo Caetano, the freedom we had depended on the decision of the civil servant with whom we were dealing. After the 25 April we have freedom guaranteed by the rule of law because the law specifically states such freedom”.⁶⁸⁶ Reis explains that the conditions for Protestants/Evangelicals to express their faith publicly after the *coup d'état* were based on legislation rather on the will of public servants, as it had been previously,⁶⁸⁷ “Shortly after the 25 April there was a great openness where religious freedom ... was ... complete, there were not many rules. There was a Diploma signed by General Spínola granting freedom to the Protestants/Evangelicals ... so we could express ourselves and organize public rallies”.⁶⁸⁸ However, Reis explains that the new period of tolerance and liberty did not meant Protestants/Evangelicals got directly involved in politics,⁶⁸⁹ “I believe most ... religious leaders in Portugal think ... ministry is incompatible with political activity... We have no pastors involved in politics”.⁶⁹⁰

A former president of the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance (AEP) Luís Reis stated that the AEP is not involved in politics,⁶⁹¹ “The Evangelical Alliance does not have any political ambition, nor is it involved in political lobbying”.⁶⁹² The traditional tendency is that Evangelicals avoid politics. This position, however, may change in due course because of the exponential proliferation of non-Roman Catholic Christianity and other religious entities. Adding to this, seemingly different Christian expressions started interacting, which influenced and transformed the understanding of the *Holy Scriptures* as well as the spiritual experience among Christians of various denominations. As an example, Barata *et al* point out in *Línguas de Fogo: História da Assembleia de Deus de*

685 Original text in Portuguese: “... antes, no consulado de Marcelo Caetano, tínhamos liberdade, mas estava condicionada à decisão do indivíduo. Após o 25 de abril temos liberdade pelo primado da lei. Porque a lei estabelece essa liberdade”.

686 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 12 – with Rev Luís Reis (1)*, (Conducted at the Monte Esperança Instituto Bíblico das Assembleias de Deus, Fanhões, Loures, Portugal, on 29 March, 2011), pp. 15-16.

687 Original text in Portuguese: “Logo após o 25 de abril houve uma abertura muito grande, ... onde a liberdade religiosa era ... plena. Não havia muitas regras. Havia um Diploma assinado até pelo General Spínola ... onde nos podíamos manifestar, fazer desfiles, etc. Houve um período em que isso aconteceu”.

688 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 12 – with Rev Luís Reis (1)*, Op. cit.

689 Original text in Portuguese: “Creio que a maioria senão a totalidade dos líderes religiosos em Portugal pensa que o seu ministério é incompatível com atividade política ... Não temos nenhum pastor envolvido na política”.

690 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 12 – with Rev Luís Reis (1)*, Op. cit.

691 Original text in Portuguese: “A Aliança Evangélica não tem qualquer ambição de ser nem é nenhum *lobby* político”.

692 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 12 – with Rev Luís Reis (1)*, Op. cit.

Lisboa that,⁶⁹³ “Pentecostalism has become firm and even influential in some sectors of the Roman Catholic Church, particularly to the Charismatic [Movement]”.⁶⁹⁴

2.3.3 THE REACTION OF THE PORTUGUESE JEWISH AND MUSLIM COMMUNITIES TOWARDS THE NEW CONSTITUTIONAL REGIME

The 25 April, 1974 Revolution was a relief for the Jewish and the Muslim communities established in Portugal which both were still small in membership. The Jewish Community was established in the country since the beginning of the twentieth century and due to political reasons,⁶⁹⁵ “Portuguese Judaism was closed ... on itself, submitting itself to a ‘low profile’ particularly because the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church was one of the pillars of the [New State] regime”,⁶⁹⁶ as Esther Mucznik points out in *Os Judeus em Portugal, Presença e Memória*. The involvement of the Portuguese Jews with the nation can be traced back to the beginning of the country in the twelfth century but only after the 25 of April, 1974 Portugal acknowledge her Jews as Mucznik adds,⁶⁹⁷

The April 1974 Revolution began profound alterations in Portuguese society and it acknowledged ‘its’ Jews... The strict nationalist vision was followed by a consciousness of the importance of the Arab and Jewish heritage to the country’s history. The archives opened and the wealth of the Jewish contribution since the beginning of the independence became visible.⁶⁹⁸

In *A Leveza de Alá em Portugal* regarding the Portuguese Muslims⁶⁹⁹ Fábio Monteiro states that the Lisbon Muslim Community was founded in 1968 under the Caetano’s regime. Since 1986 the leader of the Lisbon Muslim Community is Sheikh Dr David

693 Original text in Portuguese: “O pentecostalismo tornou-se firme e influenciador até de alguns sectores da Igreja Católica Romana, no âmbito dos alegados carismáticos”.

694 Barata, António C., et al, *Línguas de Fogo: História da Assembleia de Deus de Lisboa*, Op. cit., p. 145.

695 Original text in Portuguese: “O judaísmo português que se fecha ... sobre si próprio, remetendo-se para um ‘low profile’, pouco estimulante, tanto mais que a hierarquia da Igreja católica era um dos pilares do regime”.

696 Mucznik, Esther, *Os Judeus em Portugal, Presença e Memória*, (News report: Comunidade Israelita de Lisboa online portal. <http://www.cilisboa.org/>. Accessed on 25 June, 2015).

697 Original text in Portuguese: “Com a Revolução de Abril de 1974 iniciam-se mudanças profundas na sociedade portuguesa e na relação desta com os ‘seus’ judeus. Á visão nacionalista estreita, sucede a consciência da importância das heranças árabe e judaica. Abrem-se os arquivos, surge á luz do dia a riqueza do contributo judaico, desde os primórdios da nacionalidade... Portugal descobre-se e ao descobrir-se encontra-se com os seus judeus”.

698 Mucznik, Esther, *Os Judeus em Portugal, Presença e Memória*, Op. cit.

699 Monteiro, Fábio, *A Leveza de Alá em Portugal*, (News report: Observador, online portal, <http://observador.pt/>. Accessed on 25 June, 2015).

Munir who stated the following in *Interview 21* (See Interviews Conducted),⁷⁰⁰ “The 25 of April, 1974 changed the History of Portugal ... by bringing democracy and liberty in, which must be valued”.⁷⁰¹

2.3.4 IMPACT OF THE 25 APRIL, 1974 ON RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The 25 April, 1974 Revolution altered the State’s attitude concerning the teaching of moral and religion in public schools, which paved the way for Protestants/Evangelicals to teach their own curricula in national schools. In 1973 Caetano initiated the reform of the national education to allow Protestants/Evangelicals to get involved in the teaching of moral and religion in public schools by issuing Law No. 5/73 of July 25 (*Lei N° 5/73 de 25 de Julho, 1973*). This *Act*, however, only became effective after the Revolution initiated on the April 25 1974. Until then only Roman Catholic priests were allowed to teach those subjects, as pointed out by Joaquim Pintassilgo in *Laicidade, Religiões e Educação na Europa do Sul no Século XX*,⁷⁰² “The reform of education was started ... by Veiga Simão who issued Law n. 5/73 of July 25”.⁷⁰³ However, according to Pintassilgo,⁷⁰⁴ “The conservative [Roman] Catholic sectors ... [insisted] that the system of education ... should be 'guided' by the principles, morals and traditional Christian doctrine”.⁷⁰⁵ Nonetheless, the process initiated by Caetano was not immediately resolved after the 25 April, 1974, and so its debate continued until 1986⁷⁰⁶ when the actual legislation was adopted and applied in public education, as will be discussed at a later stage in this thesis.

700 Original text in Portuguese: “Acho que o 25 de Abril de 1974 mudou a história de Portugal, apesar de passar só 40 anos. A nova geração tem que valorizar ainda mais a democracia e a liberdade”.

701 Da Silva, F.C., *Interview 28 – Entrevista ao Sheikh Dr David Munir*, (Conducted via email received on 13 May, 2014 at 12:16 pm), p. 2.

702 Original text in Portuguese: “A reforma de ensino protagonizada...por Veiga Simão. A Lei n.º 5/73 de 25 de Julho”.

703 Pintassilgo, Joaquim, Ed., *Laicidade, Religiões e Educação na Europa do Sul no Século XX*, (Article: Instituto de Educação da Universidade de Lisboa, Lisboa. [Portugal]. <http://www.ie.ul.pt/>. Accessed on 19 December, 2013), p. 30.

704 Original text in Portuguese: “Cumprido, finalmente, deixar aqui uma referência à reforma de ensino protagonizada, no início dos anos 70, pelo último ministro da Educação Nacional do Estado Novo, Veiga Simão. A Lei n.º 5/73 de 25 de Julho foi aprovada pela Assembleia Nacional em 1973, depois de dois anos de discussão pública dos textos programáticos. O vanguardismo da reforma, concretizada, em muitos dos seus aspectos, já só após o 25 de abril 1974 não deixou de conviver com algumas cedências, em fórum de discussão, aos sectores conservadores e católicos, designadamente no que se referia às finalidades do sistema de ensino (Base III), que deveriam ser ‘orientadas’ pelos princípios da moral e doutrina cristãs tradicionais no País”.

705 Pintassilgo, Joaquim, Ed., *Laicidade, Religiões e Educação na Europa do Sul no Século XX*, Op. cit.

706 Ibid., pp. 31-32.

2.4 SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION PERMITTING RELIGIOUS PROLIFERATION

The alteration of legislation resulting from the 25 April, 1974 Revolution began a profound social transformation which paved the way for religious proliferation during the period under scrutiny (1974-1976). Caetano's legislation regarding religious freedom such as the *1971 Religious Freedom Act* and Law No. 5/73 of July 25 (*Lei N° 5/73 de 25 de Julho, 1973*) were effectively applied by the Revolution's new regime which paved the way for religious proliferation. According to Santos,⁷⁰⁷ "Even for denominations already legalized long ago the new political system clearly created a favourable climate for their growth".⁷⁰⁸

Consequently, this section will address the transformation of the Portuguese religious landscape along with conceptual considerations to understand that change between 1974 and 1976. A list of the religious groups found in Portugal during the same historical period (1974-1976) will be inserted to support the discussion. The insertion of this list in the thesis is important since no such list of religious non-Roman Catholic communities was found but also because it is useful to substantiate the discussion on religious freedom in Portugal. The rationale behind the concept of the list presented in this section is to aggregate churches, denominations and religious communities in the same manner as they associate and presents themselves to society. There were four kinds of Christian groups found in Portugal (1974-1976). Added to the Christian groups, another group will be mentioned because it considers itself to be Christian but is not accepted as such by Christian denominations. Therefore, for the purpose of clarity in the discussion only the religious entities mentioned in this group are called Para-Christian denominations.

The first group is the Roman Catholic Church, which is ecumenical, and its Dioceses associate under the Portuguese Episcopal Conference (Conferência Episcopal Portuguesa – CEP) affiliated with the Holy See and the Vatican State. According to Ericson's data⁷⁰⁹ from 1974 to 1976 the Roman Catholics represented about 94,1% of the population

707 Original text in Portuguese: "As mudanças políticas ocorridas a partir de 1974, e sobretudo a estabilização política introduzida pela Constituição de 1976 (III República), criaram as condições para a lei de 1971 poder aplicar-se plenamente. Esta nova situação política criou, mesmo para denominações já de há muito legalizadas, um clima claramente mais favorável ao seu crescimento".

708 Santos, Luís Aguiar Santos, *O Protestantismo em Portugal (Séculos XIX e XX): Linhas de Força da Sua História e Historiografia*, Op. cit., p. 46.

709 Ericson, Gerald C., *Nascidos Para Crescer: O Crescimento da Igreja em Portugal*, Op. cit., p. 173.

against 0,8% of other Christians. Roman Catholicism is present in the country before her independence in 1143. The second group is the Protestants which is also ecumenical. These Churches regard themselves as Evangelicals, represent only a few thousand believers and associate under the Portuguese Council of Christian Churches (Conselho Português de Igrejas Cristãs – COPIC). The COPIC is an organization of churches affiliated to the World Council of Churches (WCC). The third group is the Evangelicals and includes the Pentecostals. It is not ecumenical and represents a larger number of members than the Protestants. They were reluctant to identify themselves as Protestants and associate under the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance (Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa – AEP). The AEP is affiliated to the World Evangelical Alliance (WEA).

The fourth group is Christian denominations established in Portugal which do not affiliate to the CEP, to COPIC or to the AEP, and so they are addressed separately for the sake of a better comprehension of the Portuguese religious landscape. There are other religious bodies with claims to be Christian which Roman Catholics, Protestants, Evangelicals or Pentecostals do not recognise them as such. The non-Christian religious groups existing in Portugal from 1974 to 1976 were the Jewish and the Muslim. The following, therefore, is an overview of the religious entities found in Portugal from 1974 to 1976 which demonstrates the fast religious proliferation resulting from the 1974 Revolution.

2.4.1 A LIST OF CHRISTIAN DENOMINATIONS FOUND IN PORTUGAL IN THE TRANSITION PERIOD TO DEMOCRACY (1974-1976)

As a consequence of the Revolution Portugal began to shift from a tradition Roman Catholic outlook towards a multi-religious modern society already in the period of transition to democracy (1974-1976). Therefore, the list of Christian denominations found in Portugal during the historical period under scrutiny demonstrates the fast religious proliferation that resulted from the *coup d'état* and the subsequent 1974 Revolution. Portuguese religious denominations which claim to be Christian include the Roman Catholic Churches associated to the CEP, the Protestant Churches affiliated to the COPIC, the Evangelical and Pentecostal denominations linked to the AEP, other Christian Churches not associated to the CEP, the COPIC or to the AEP and, Para-Christian denominations.

2.4.1.1 The Roman Catholic Churches Associated Under the Portuguese Episcopal Conference (CEP)

The Roman Catholic institutional hierarchy as well as the Roman Catholic involvement with the Charismatic Renewal (Renovação Carismática Católica – RCC) and the ecumenical movement will be addressed in this section. The Portuguese Roman Catholic Church is constituted by 20 Dioceses whose leaders are called bishops as stated by the Cardinal Patriarch of Lisbon Dom Manuel Clemente during the above mentioned televised interview conducted by António José Teixeira.⁷¹⁰ The official name of the Portuguese Roman Catholic organization, under which the Dioceses are associated,⁷¹¹ is the Portuguese Episcopal Conference (Conferência Episcopal Portuguesa – CEP)⁷¹² whose website confirms the Cardinal's statement that there are twenty Roman Catholic Dioceses in Portugal, namely: Algarve,⁷¹³ Angra,⁷¹⁴ Aveiro,⁷¹⁵ Beja,⁷¹⁶ Arquidiocese of Braga,⁷¹⁷ Bragança – Miranda,⁷¹⁸ Coimbra,⁷¹⁹ Arquidiocese of Évora,⁷²⁰ Funchal,⁷²¹ Guarda,⁷²² Lamego,⁷²³ Leiria – Fátima,⁷²⁴ Patriarchate of Lisboa,⁷²⁵ Portalegre-Castelo

710 Teixeira, António José, *Entrevista com Dom Manuel Clemente – Cardeal Patriarca de Lisboa*, Op. cit.

711 [?], *Conferência Episcopal Portuguesa*. (Quinta do Cabeço, Moscavide, [Loures]. [Portugal]. <http://www.ecclesia.pt/>. Accessed on 30 December, 2013).

712 [?], *Dioceses de Portugal*, (Information: Conferência Episcopal Portuguesa. Dioceses. Quinta do Cabeço, Moscavide. [Portugal]. <http://www.ecclesia.pt/>. Accessed on 21 December, 2013).

713 *Diocese do Algarve*, (Bishop Dom Manuel Neto Quintas. Curia Diocesana, Faro, Portugal. <http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/>. Accessed on 25 January, 2014).

714 *Diocese de Angra*, (Bishop Dom António de Sousa Braga, Angra do Heroísmo, [Açores], Portugal. <http://www.dehonianos.org/>. Accessed on 25 January, 2014).

715 *Diocese de Aveiro*, (Bishop Dom António Francisco Dos Santos. Aveiro. Portugal. <http://www.diocese-aveiro.pt/>. Accessed on 25 January, 2014).

716 *Diocese de Beja*, (Bishop Dom António Vitalino Fernandes Dantas. Beja. Portugal. www.diocese-beja.pt/. Accessed on 25 January, 2014).

717 *Arquidiocese de Braga*, (Archbishop Primaz Dom Jorge Ferreira da Costa Ortiga. Paço Archiepiscopal, Braga. [Portugal]. <http://www.diocese-braga.pt/>. Accessed on 25 January, 2014).

718 *Diocese de Bragança-Miranda*, (Bishop Dom José Cordeiro. Bragança. Portugal. <http://diocesebm.pt/>. Accessed on 25 January, 2014).

719 *Diocese de Coimbra*, (Bishop Dom Virgílio do Nascimento Antunes. Coimbra. [Portugal]. <http://www.diocesedecoimbra.pt/>. Accessed on 29 January, 2014).

720 *Arquidiocese de Évora*, (Arcebishop Dom José Francisco Sanches Alves. Évora. [Portugal]. <http://www.portal.ecclesia.pt/>. Accessed on 29 January, 2014).

721 *Diocese do Funchal*, (Bishop Dom António José Cavaco Carrilho. Funchal, Portugal. <http://www.diocesedofunchal.pt>. Accessed on 29 January, 2014).

722 *Diocese da Guarda*, (Bishop Dom Manuel da Rocha Felício. Guarda, Portugal. <http://www.diocesedaguarda.pt/>. Accessed on 29 January, 2014).

723 *Diocese de Lamego*, (Dom António José da Rocha Couto. Cúria Diocesana, Lamego, [Portugal]. <http://www.diocese-lamego.pt/>. Accessed on 29 January, 2014).

Branco,⁷²⁶ Porto,⁷²⁷ Santarém,⁷²⁸ Setúbal,⁷²⁹ Viana do Castelo,⁷³⁰ Vila Real,⁷³¹ Viseu.⁷³²

Furthermore, the CEP includes the Ordinariato Castrense related with the assistance to the Armed Forces, the Prelatura da Santa Cruz e Opus Dei and, the Patriarchate seats in Lisbon.⁷³³ As their names indicate these Dioceses spread over all Portuguese territory and constitute solid Roman Catholic structures because of their long establishment in the country.

The spiritual life of the Roman Catholic Dioceses is manifested by the various trends of Roman Catholic Movements initiated abroad. This spiritual influence includes the Pentecostal taken from the ecumenical experience resulting from the Second Vatican Council. The Pentecostal influence was manifested by the establishment of a Roman Catholic Movement known as Catholic Charismatic Renewal (Renovação Carismática Católica – RCC). The Charismatic Movement can trace its origins from Pope Leon XIII's Encyclical issued on 9 May, 1897 entitled *Encyclical Letter DIVINUM illud munus of Pope Leo XIII on the presence and wonderful under the Holy Spirit* which concerned the Holy Spirit.⁷³⁴ Attention was given to the Pentecostal Movement initiated amongst Protestant/Evangelical denominations, and so Pope Leo XIII stated to the Roman

724 *Diocese de Leiria-Fátima*, (Bishop Dom António Augusto dos Santos Marto. Casa Episcopal, Leiria, [Portugal]. <http://www.leiria-fatima.pt/>. Accessed on 29 January, 2014).

725 *Patriarcado de Lisboa*, (Cardeal Patriarca Dom Manuel Clemente. Mosteiro de S. Vicente de Fora, Lisboa, [Portugal]. <http://www.patriarcado-lisboa.pt/>. Accessed on 30 December, 2013).

726 *Diocese de Portalegre - Castelo Branco*, (Mons. Paulo Henriques Dias. Paço Episcopal, Portalegre, [Portugal]. <http://www.portalegre-castelobranco.pt/>. Accessed on 29 January, 2014).

727 *Diocese do Porto*, (Administrador Apostólico do Porto Dom Pio Alves. Paço Episcopal, Porto, [Portugal]. <http://diocese-porto.pt/>. Accessed on 29 January, 2014).

728 *Diocese de Santarém*, (Bishop Dom Manuel Pelino Domingues. Santarém, [Portugal]. <http://catequese-santarem.blogspot.com/>. Accessed on 29 January, 2014).

729 *Diocese de Setúbal*, (Bishop Dom Gilberto Délio Gonçalves Canavarro dos Reis. Cúria Diocesana de Setúbal. Setúbal. [Portugal]. www.diocese-setubal.pt/. Accessed on 29 January, 2014).

730 *Diocese de Viana do Castelo*, (Bishop Dom Anacleto Cordeiro Gonçalves Oliveira. Paço Episcopal, Viana do Castelo, [Portugal]. <http://www.diocesedeviana.pt/>. Accessed on 29 January, 2014).

731 *Diocese de Vila Real*, (Bishop Dom Amândio José Tomás. Vila Real, Portugal. <http://www.diocese-vilareal.pt/>. Accessed on 29 January, 2014).

732 *Diocese de Viseu*, (Bishop Dom Ilídio Pinto Leandro. Casa Episcopal. Viseu, [Portugal]. <http://www.centropastoral.web.pt/>. Accessed on 29 January, 2014).

733 *Patriarcado de Lisboa*, (Cardeal Patriarca Dom Manuel Clemente. Mosteiro de S. Vicente de Fora, Lisboa, [Portugal]. <http://www.patriarcado-lisboa.pt/>. Accessed on 30 December, 2013).

734 Leo XIII, Pope, *Encyclical Letter DIVINUM illud munus of Pope Leo XIII on the presence and wonderful under the Holy Spirit*, (Encyclical: Papal Encyclicals Online, 9 May, 1897. Online portal, <http://www.papalencyclicals.net/>. Accessed on 30 January, 2014).

Catholic believers,⁷³⁵ “Let us promote the knowledge and love for the Holy Spirit”.⁷³⁶ The online portal of RCC includes the history of the Charismatic renewal movement in Brazil and Portugal a few decades after Pope Leo XIII’s Encyclical as well as how Pope John XXIII initiated his speech at the beginning of the Second Vatican Council evoking the Holy Spirit,

In this Assembly, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, we wish to inquire how we ought to renew ourselves, so that we may be found increasingly faithful to the gospel of Christ... While we hope that the light of faith will shine more clearly and more vigorously as a result of this Council’s efforts, we look forward to a spiritual renewal from which will also flow a happy impulse on behalf of human values.⁷³⁷

Pope John XXIII asked the Holy Spirit to make the Ecumenical Council a success by His heavenly outpouring of an extraordinary spiritual impact on the Fathers participating in it,

O Holy Spirit sent by the Father in the name of Jesus, who are present in the Church and dost infallibly guide it, pour forth, we pray, the fullness of Thy gifts upon the Ecumenical Council... Renew Thy wonders in this day, as by a new Pentecost.⁷³⁸

The response of the Second Vatican Council’s Fathers to Pope John XXIII’s prayer was also in the form of a prayer believed to have been written by St. Isidore of Seville with the purpose to be used in the 633 A.D. Fourth Provincial Council of Toledo in Spain, “We are here before you, O Holy Spirit, conscious of our innumerable sins but united in a special way in Your Holy Name. Come and abide with us. Deign to penetrate our hearts”.⁷³⁹

Both prayers in the Second Vatican Council had a tremendous impact in the outcome results of the Council and on the spiritual life of the Roman Catholic Dioceses worldwide,⁷⁴⁰ “The life of the contemporary Church was deeply marked by the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965)”,⁷⁴¹ as the online portal of the RCC states. Consequently,⁷⁴²

735 Original text in Spanish: “Foméntese el conocimiento y amor del Espíritu Santo”.

736 Leo XIII, Pope, *Encyclical Letter DIVINUM illud munus of Pope Leo XIII on the presence and wonderful under the Holy Spirit*, Op. cit.

737 Abbott, Walter M, Ed., *The Documents of Vatican II: With Notes and Comments by Catholic, Protestant and Orthodox Authorities*, (The America Press. Geoffrey Chapman, An Angelus Book. London – Dublin. [England]. 1966.), pp. 3-5.

738 Ibid., p. 793.

739 Ibid., p. XXII.

740 Original text in Portuguese: “... a vida da Igreja contemporânea ficará profundamente marcada pelo Concílio Vaticano II (1962-1965)”.

741 [?], *A História da RCC: História Mundial da RCC*, (Information: Renovação Carismática Católica. <http://www.rccbrasil.org.br/>. Accessed on 30 January, 2014).

“The Catholic Charismatic Renewal or [Roman] Catholic Pentecostalism as it was originally known, had its origin in a retreat held on 17-19 February, 1967 at the Duquesne University (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, USA)”.⁷⁴³ According to the RCC,⁷⁴⁴

The Charismatic Renewal is perceived as an event closely linked to the Council. The Charismatic Renewal in the [Roman] Catholic Church appeared at the time when Catholics were beginning to look for ways to implement the renewal of their Church, which had been a desire, an order and inaugurated by Vatican II ... We locate the Charismatic Renewal as one of the consequences of the evolution of post-council spirituality.⁷⁴⁵

The Catholic Charismatic Renewal spread rapidly as a worldwide Movement but was only able to get established in Portugal after the 25 April, 1974 when the Movement was registered as Catholic Charismatic Renewal (Renovamento Carismático Católico – RCC),⁷⁴⁶ “In Portugal, the first prayer groups ... [of] the Charismatic Renewal were formed in the Diocese of Lisbon ... in 1974 and there are currently 89 prayer groups ... involving about 3,500 participants”.⁷⁴⁷ The Inter-diocesan Conference of the RCC (Conferência Interdiocesana do RCC) of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal has delegates from the following Dioceses: Algarve, Angra do Heroísmo, Aveiro, Beja, Braga, Coimbra, Évora, Funchal, Guarda, Leiria-Fátima, Lisboa, Portalegre-Castelo Branco, Porto, Santarém, Setúbal, Viana do Castelo, and Viseu.⁷⁴⁸

The Pentecostal experience within the Roman Catholic Church was one of the ways in which the Roman Catholic Church opened to the Pentecostal experience by which interaction between Roman Catholic Fathers and Pentecostal Pastors was initiated at local level. During a conversation with the author of this thesis,⁷⁴⁹ Pastor José de Oliveira Pessoa said he had participated in Lisbon in an interaction with the Lisbon Roman

742 Original text in Portuguese: “A Renovação Carismática Católica, ou Pentecostalismo Católico, como foi inicialmente conhecida, teve origem com um retiro espiritual realizado nos dias 17-19 de fevereiro de 1967, na Universidade de Duquesne (Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, USA) ”.

743 [?], *A História da RCC: História Mundial da RCC*, Op. cit.

744 Original text in Portuguese: “Na compreensão que tem de si, a Renovação Carismática se percebe como um acontecimento estreitamente vinculado ao Concílio. A Renovação Carismática apareceu na Igreja Católica no momento em que se começava a procurar caminhos para pôr em prática a renovação da Igreja, desejada, ordenada, e inaugurada pelo Concílio Vaticano II... Podemos localizar a Renovação Carismática como um dos desdobramentos da evolução da espiritualidade pós-conciliar”.

745 [?], *A História da RCC: História Mundial da RCC*, Op. cit.

746 Original text in Portuguese: “Em Portugal, começaram a formar-se os primeiros grupos de oração do Renovamento Carismático ... na Diocese de Lisboa ... em 1974 e existem, atualmente, 89 grupos de oração ... envolvendo um total de cerca de 3.500 participantes”.

747 [?], *Renovamento Carismático Católico*, (Information: Pagina oficial Renovamento Carismático Católico. Lisboa. [Portugal]. www.ecclesia.pt/. Accessed on 30 January, 2014).

748 Ibid.

749 Conversation: held at Mount Hope Biblical Institute in Fanhões, Loures, Portugal on September 1979.

Catholic Charismatic. Some years later in 1987 interaction happened between Father Fernando Martins of the Santa Clara's Catholic Convent in Coimbra and Pastor José Luís da Silva Neves and me to discuss the Pentecostal experience. The Charismatic experience is found in fourteen [Roman] Catholic Dioceses.⁷⁵⁰

Unthinkable during the New State era, Roman Catholic and Protestant/Pentecostal relations are evident in the various types of interaction between the two Christian sides. One of those types of interaction is that many Roman Catholic Dioceses are part of the list of clients of the Portuguese Bible Society (Sociedade Bíblica Portuguesa) founded by Protestants in (1809).⁷⁵¹ There is also evidence that many Roman Catholics are clients of the Assembly of God Publishing House (Casa Publicadora das Assembleias de Deus – CAPU). Interaction is also found at institutional level between the CEP and the COPIC as well as with the AEP,⁷⁵² as corroborated by Dom António Marto who is the president of the Portuguese Section of Pax Christi (Secção Portuguesa Pax Christi) a Roman Catholic organisation which promotes ecumenical dialogue.⁷⁵³ According to Dom António Marto,⁷⁵⁴

There is a regular dialogue with the COPIC, which is always an important meeting to program and organize common initiatives. We always hold meetings to reflect [on Christian unity] which involve the [Roman] Catholic Church ... the Evangelical Alliance and the COPIC.⁷⁵⁵

The regular dialogue between the Christian leaders of CEP, COPIC and AEP reflects the profound alteration experienced in Portuguese Christianity as the result of the Revolution launched on the 25 April, 1974. Such regular dialogue also has a continued impact on religious freedom because it helps Christian leaders to interact and know each other's point of view concerning theological and ecclesiastical matters. Regular dialogue also

750 [?], *Sociedade Bíblica - Entidades Religiosas*, (Information: Sociedade Bíblica. Lisboa, Portugal. <http://www.sociedade-biblica.pt/>. Accessed on 31 January, 2014).

751 [?], *Sociedade Bíblica - História*, (Information: Sociedade Bíblica. Lisboa, Portugal. <http://www.sociedade-biblica.pt/>. Accessed on 31 January, 2014).

752 CAPU – *Casa Publicadora das Assembleias de Deus*, Op. cit.

753 Ferreira, D. Januário Torgal, [Ed.], *Semana de Oração pela Unidade dos Cristãos 18 – 25 de Janeiro de 2007*, (Letter: Pax Christi – Secção Portuguesa, Lisboa, [Portugal]. 2007), p. 2.

754 Original text in Portuguese: “A nível nacional há um diálogo regular com o COPIC, que é sempre um momento importante para programar e lançar iniciativas. Além disso, é hábito organizar um encontro público de reflexão, com a Igreja Católica, o COPIC e a Aliança Evangélica”.

755 Marto, D. António, *O Ecumenismo em Portugal: Portugal sem paixão ecuménica*, (Interview: Em entrevista à Agência ECCLESIA, D. António Marto, presidente da Comissão Episcopal para a Doutrina da Fé e Ecumenismo. Interview in: Ferreira, D. Januário Torgal, [Ed.], *Semana de Oração pela Unidade dos Cristãos 18 – 25 de Janeiro de 2007*, Op. cit., p. 43.

helps to demonstrate tolerance and a moderate tone in their public speech about each other. The Roman Catholic Church is therefore engaged⁷⁵⁶ with the ecumenical movement collaborating in joint activities with non-Roman Catholic Christians held annually such as the Week of Prayer for Christian Unity (Semana de Oração pela Unidade dos Cristãos),⁷⁵⁷ “Prepared jointly by the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity and the World Council of Churches’ Commission for Faith and Order”.⁷⁵⁸

Since 1968 the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity and the Commission on Faith and Order of the World Council of Churches have annually adopted a theme for the Week of Prayer for Christian Unity, and the theme chosen for 1974 was⁷⁵⁹ “That every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord (*Philippians* 2, 1-13). (Preparatory meeting in Geneva, Switzerland)”.⁷⁶⁰ Across the country Protestant, Evangelical and Pentecostal Churches participate in the Week of Prayer for Christian Unity organizing special events during the first week of each year and promoting interaction between Christian denominations including Protestant, Evangelical as well as Pentecostal Churches.

2.4.1.2 Protestant, Evangelical and Pentecostal Denominations

Protestant, Evangelical and Pentecostal denominations follow the Roman Catholics in the above list of Churches because they have been established in the country for more than a century. Various attempts to present a list of the non-Roman Catholic denominations established in Portugal include the Santos’ List and the Wikipedia List. The Santos’ List groups the Protestant, Evangelical and Pentecostal denominations according to their organizational and ecumenical preferences in three kinds of denominations: the first

⁷⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁵⁷ Original text in Portuguese: “Preparado conjuntamente por Pontifício Conselho para a Promoção da Unidade dos Cristãos e Comissão Fé e Constituição do Conselho Mundial de Igrejas”.

⁷⁵⁸ [?], *Subsídios para a Semana de Oração pela Unidade dos Cristãos e para todo o ano*, (Preparado conjuntamente por: Pontifício Conselho para a Promoção da Unidade dos Cristãos e Comissão Fé e Constituição do Conselho Mundial de Igrejas. Pontifício Conselho para a Promoção da Unidade dos Cristãos, Cidade do Vaticano, www.vatican.va. Comissão Fé e Constituição do Conselho Mundial de Igrejas, Genebra 2 (Suíça), www.wcc-coe.org. 2012. <http://ecumenism.net/>. Accessed on 28 December, 2013).

⁷⁵⁹ Original text in Portuguese: “Que toda a língua confesse: Jesus Cristo é o Senhor (*Filipenses* 2, 1-13). (Encontro preparatório em Genebra, Suíça) ”.

⁷⁶⁰ [?], *Subsídios para a Semana de Oração pela Unidade dos Cristãos e para todo o ano*, Op. cit., p. 35.

group is called 'Churches of the Synod', the second group of denominations is called 'Congregational churches' and, the third is a group of denominations called 'non ecumenical Churches',⁷⁶¹

1) *'The Synod's Churches'* (Presbyterians, Methodists and Lusitano Episcopalians) ... converged in 1971 to form the Portuguese Council of Christian Churches (COPIC) and they are integrated in the World Council of Churches which is engaged in the ecumenical movement; ... 2) *'Congregational Churches'* (Brethren, Congregationalists, Baptists, Pentecostals) converged into the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance (AEP) which integrates the World Evangelical Alliance but do not engaged with the ecumenical movement [only in the regular dialogue for mutual understanding with the COPIC and the CEP]; ... and, 3) *'non ecumenical Churches'* (Adventists, neo-Pentecostals, and 'new Christian movements' such as the Jehovah's Witnesses... These do not cooperate with inter-denominational bodies or in the ecumenical movement.⁷⁶²

There is also a list of Protestant, Evangelical and Pentecostal denominations found in an article entitled List of the Protestant Denominations in Portugal (*Anexo: Lista de denominações protestantes em Portugal*), which places the Protestants and the Evangelicals in two different categories,⁷⁶³ “1) Historical Protestant groups: Lutherans, Anglicans, Calvinists, Presbyterians, Anabaptists; Methodists, Baptists; Free Churches and Adventists. 2) Pentecostal groups: Pentecostals and neo-Pentecostals”.⁷⁶⁴ Since the above List of the Protestant Denominations in Portugal is found in an unreliable academic source⁷⁶⁵ effort was made to use the list simply as the structure for a proper academic historical record of Protestant/Pentecostal denominations found in the country during the period from 1974 to 1976.

761 Original text in Portuguese: “1) *Igrejas 'sinodais'* (Presbiterianos, Lusitanos Episcopalianos e Metodistas) ... vêm a convergir em 1971 no Conselho Português de Igrejas Cristãs (COPIC), estão integradas no Conselho Mundial de Igrejas e no movimento ecuménico; ... 2) *Denominações 'congregacionais'* (Irmãos, Congregacionalistas, Baptistas, Pentecostais): vêm a convergir na Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa (AEP), estão integradas na Aliança Evangélica Mundial e são refratárias ao movimento ecuménico; ... e, 3) *Igrejas e denominações 'não ecuménicas'* (Adventistas, Neopentecostais, e ‘novos movimentos cristãos’ como Testemunhas de Jeová... Não cooperam nem em organismos inter-denominacionais nem no movimento ecuménico”.

762 Santos, Luís Aguiar Santos, *O Protestantismo em Portugal (Séculos XIX e XX): Linhas de Força da Sua História e Historiografia*, Op. cit., p. 48.

763 Original text in Portuguese: “1) Grupos protestantes históricos: 1.1 Luteranos; 1.2 Anglicanos; 1.3 Calvinistas; 1.4 Presbiterianos; 1.5 Anabatistas; 1.6 Metodistas; 1.7 Batistas; 1.8 Igrejas livres; 1.9 Adventistas. 2) Grupos pentecostais: 2.1 Pentecostais; 2.2 Neopentecostais”.

764 *Anexo: Lista de denominações protestantes em Portugal*, (Information: Wikipédia A enciclopédia livre, Sv optics. Wikipedia Foundation, Inc. San Francisco, United States. <http://pt.wikipedia.org/>. Accessed on 31 December, 2013).

765 Ibid.

1) Historical Protestant groups:

- a) **Lutherans** – Igreja Evangélica Alemã was established in “1761”;⁷⁶⁶ Igreja Evangélica Luterana de Portugal founded in “1958”;⁷⁶⁷ and, Igreja Luterana de Portugal,⁷⁶⁸ established in “1959”.⁷⁶⁹
- b) **Anglicans** – Igreja Lusitana Católica Apostólica Evangélica, Diocese Anglicana na Europa – Sé de Gibraltar em Portugal, in⁷⁷⁰ “1880 met in Lisbon ... [the first] Synod”.⁷⁷¹
- c) **Calvinists** – St Andrews Church of Lisbon⁷⁷² established in “1866”;⁷⁷³ Igreja Reformada em Portugal started in 1976 with a group of members of the South African Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (Nederduitse Reformed Church). They were Portuguese refugees who had come from Angola and Mozambique in 1974, then returning to Portugal;⁷⁷⁴ and, União das Igrejas Evangélicas Congregacionais Portuguesas⁷⁷⁵ initiated in “1911”,⁷⁷⁶ by “Jacinto Pereira Cardoso”.⁷⁷⁷
- d) **Presbyterians** – Igreja Cristã Presbiteriana de Portugal founded in⁷⁷⁸ “28 August, 1955”;⁷⁷⁹ and, Igreja Evangélica Presbiteriana de Portugal.⁷⁸⁰

766 [?], *Deutsche Evangelische Kirchengemeinde Lissabo (Igreja Evangélica Alemã de Lisboa): A Nossa História*. (Information: Pastora Anke Stalling e Pastor Stefan Satting. Lisboa. Portugal. <http://www.dekl.org/>. Accessed on 30 January, 2014).

767 *Igreja Evangélica Luterana Portuguesa*, (Information: Gueifães, Maia. [Portugal]. <http://www.ielp.pt/>. Accessed on 31 December, 2013).

768 *Igreja Luterana de Portugal*, (Pastor Rev Artur Villares. Capela do Rei Carlos Alberto, Porto. [Portugal]. <http://igreja-luterana.blogspot.com/>. Accessed on 24 January, 2014).

769 Da Silva, Fernando Caldeira, *Telephonic Interview with Rev António Ferro Canoa*, (Conducted on 19 January, 2014, at 16:37 pm).

770 Original text in Portuguese: “1880 reuniram-se em Lisboa ... [primeiro] Sínodo”.

771 *Igreja Lusitana Católica Apostólica Evangélica*, (Bispo Diocesano Dom Jorge Pina Cabral. Mafamude, Vila Nova de Gaia. Portugal. <http://www.igreja-lusitana.org/>. Accessed on 30 January 30, 2014).

772 *St. Andrew's Church*, (Rev Graham McGeoch. Lisboa, Portugal, <http://www.standrewslisbon.com/>. Accessed on 30 January, 2014).

773 Ibid.

774 *Igreja Reformada Evangélica*, (Pastor Victor Maia. Massamá, [Amadora, Portugal], <http://igrejareformada.no.sapo.pt/>. Accessed on 30 January, 2014).

775 *União das Igrejas Congregacionais Portuguesas*, (Pastor Oswaldo Braz Carreiro Filho. Farinha Branca, Montargil, [Portugal]. <http://www.pai.pt/>. Accessed on 30 January, 2014).

776 *Igreja Evangélica Congregacional Pontessorense*, (Pastor Oswaldo Braz Carreiro Filho. Farinha Branca, Montargil, [Portugal]. <http://www.pai.pt/>. Accessed on 30 January, 2014).

777 Ibid.

778 Original text in Portuguese: “1955 ... 28 de Agosto”.

779 *Igreja Cristã Presbiteriana de Portugal*, (Rev Pastor Manuel Luzia. Barreiro, Portugal. <http://pt.wikipedia.org/>. Accessed on 30 January, 2014).

780 *Igreja Evangélica Presbiteriana de Portugal*, (Pastor José Manuel Leite. Lisboa, Portugal, <http://www.igreja-presbiteriana.org/>. Accessed on 30 January, 2014).

- e) **Anabaptists** – Associação dos Irmãos Menonitas de Portugal;⁷⁸¹
- f) **Methodists** – Igreja Evangélica Metodista Portuguesa established in 1854 by Thomas Chegwin and James Cassels.⁷⁸²
- g) **Baptists** – Associação das Igrejas Baptistas Portuguesas which has 19 churches associated;⁷⁸³ Convenção Baptista Portuguesa with her⁷⁸⁴ “90 churches”.⁷⁸⁵ An article entitled *Primeira Igreja Baptista nasceu há um século* was published on the front page of the national newspaper *Jornal de Notícias* on 26 April, 2008 by Carla Soares.⁷⁸⁶ “It was in the northern capital, 120 years ago, that the work of that movement was born in Portugal. And, a century ago, precisely, it was established the city's first [Baptist] church, in the Rotunda da Boavista. Today, the pastor of Cedofeita is Abel Pego, who assumes the presidency of the Portuguese Baptist Convention”,⁷⁸⁷ Igrejas Baptistas do Carreiro with “13”⁷⁸⁸ churches; and, the Igrejas Baptistas Independentes⁷⁸⁹ with “7”⁷⁹⁰ churches. There are also⁷⁹¹ “... other congregations and [Baptist] churches”.⁷⁹²
- h) **Free Churches** – Movimento de ‘Irmãos’⁷⁹³ established in “1872”⁷⁹⁴ by “Richard and Cathrin Holden”;⁷⁹⁵

781 *Associação dos Irmãos Menonitas de Portugal*, (Pastor Allaz [?]. Santo António dos Cavaleiros, Loures. [Portugal]. <http://www.pai.pt/>. Accessed on 30 January, 2014).

782 [?], *História do Metodismo em Portugal*, (Information: Igreja Evangélica Metodista Portuguesa. Porto, Portugal. <http://www.igreja-metodista.pt/>. Accessed on 30 January, 2014).

783 Pinheiro, Jorge, *Teologia e multiculturalidade – leituras da diversidade a serviço do Reino de Deus*, (Information: Os batistas no mundo. <http://jorgepinheirosanctus.blogspot.com/>. Accessed on 30 January, 2014).

784 Original text in Portuguese: “90 igrejas”.

785 Pinheiro, Jorge, *Teologia e multiculturalidade – leituras da diversidade a serviço do Reino de Deus*, Op. cit.

786 Original text in Portuguese: “Foi na capital nortenha que, há 120 anos, nasceu o trabalho daquele movimento em Portugal. E, há um século, precisamente, foi criada na cidade a primeira igreja, na Rotunda da Boavista. Hoje, é o pastor de Cedofeita, Abel Pego, que assume a presidência da Convenção Baptista Portuguesa”.

787 Soares, Carla, *Primeira Igreja Baptista nasceu há um século*, (News report: *Jornal de Notícias*. Grupo Controlinveste, Lisboa. [Portugal]. <http://www.jn.pt/>. Accessed on 31 January, 2014).

788 Pinheiro, Jorge, *Teologia e multiculturalidade – leituras da diversidade a serviço do Reino de Deus*, Op. cit.

789 *Igrejas Batistas Independentes – Igreja Fé e Esperança*, (Pastor Jeferson Robles Carmona. Porto, [Portugal]). <http://www.cibiportugal.org/>. Accessed 31 on January, 2014).

790 Pinheiro, Jorge, *Teologia e multiculturalidade – leituras da diversidade a serviço do Reino de Deus*, Op. cit.

791 Original text in Portuguese: “... outras congregações e igrejas”.

792 Pinheiro, Jorge, *Teologia e multiculturalidade – leituras da diversidade a serviço do Reino de Deus*, Op. cit.

793 [?], *História do Movimento de ‘Irmãos’*, (Information: Irmãos.NET. Lisboa. [Portugal]. <http://www.irmaos.net/historia/>. Accessed on 31 January, 2014).

794 Ibid.

795 Ibid.

i) **Adventists** – Igreja Adventista do Sétimo Dia em Portugal. According to the portal of Adventist Church in Portuguese⁷⁹⁶ “in 1904 Clarence Rentfro set foot on the Portuguese ground as the pioneer of the Adventist Church”.⁷⁹⁷ Igreja Adventista da Reforma em Portugal, in 1937 was this church established in Portugal by Pastor Alfred Rieck.⁷⁹⁸ The Aliança das Igrejas de Deus do 7º Dia de Portugal⁷⁹⁹ have two churches associated: (1) the Igreja Universal de Jesus Cristo;⁸⁰⁰ and, (2) the Congregação Cristã de Portugal⁸⁰¹ initiated in “1928”⁸⁰² by “Domingos de Sá”.⁸⁰³ Only⁸⁰⁴ “... after the Carnation Revolution in 1974 the Congregação Cristã de Portugal was officially opened and the first place of public meeting established in Porto”.⁸⁰⁵

2) Pentecostal groups:

a) **Pentecostals** – The Convention of the Assemblies of God in Portugal (Convenção das Assembleias de Deus em Portugal) is the organization which affiliates about 400 churches. According to the article *Convenção das Assembleias de Deus em Portugal*,⁸⁰⁶ “The Convention of the Assemblies of God in Portugal, with almost 400 churches, is the largest Protestant denomination in the country”.⁸⁰⁷ The

796 Original text in Portuguese: “Foi Clarence Rentfro quem em 1904, pisou o solo português como pioneiro da igreja Adventista”.

797 [?], *História da Igreja adventista: A Igreja Adventista em Portugal*, (Information: Portal da União Portuguesa dos Adventistas do Sétimo Dia. <http://www.pai.pt/ms/ms/uniao-portuguesa-dos-adventistas-do-setimo-dia-1700-lisboa/>. Accessed on 31 January, 2014. Lisboa, Portugal.

798 [?], *A História do Movimento de Reforma em Portugal e Espanha*, (Information: Portal of Espaço Esperança Vida e Saúde, História do Movimento de Reforma em Portugal – 2. <http://espaoesperancavidaesaude.bloguepessoal.com/>. Accessed on 31 January, 2014. Lisboa, Portugal).

799 [?], *Aliança das Igrejas de Deus do 7º Dia de Portugal: Igreja Universal de Jesus Cristo; e, Congregação Cristã de Portugal*, (Information: Portal of the organization. <http://www.iujc.pt/>. Accessed on 31 January, 2014. Lisboa. [Portugal]).

800 Ibid.

801 *Congregação Cristã de Portugal*, (Information: Wikipédia – A enciclopédia livre. [Em linha]. Sv costumes. A Wikimedia Project. Wikimedia Foundation, Inc. San Francisco, United States. <http://pt.wikipedia.org/>. Accessed on 31 January, 2014.

802 Ibid.

803 Ibid.

804 Original text in Portugal: “Só depois da Revolução dos Cravos em 1974 a Congregação Cristã em Portugal foi oficializada e o primeiro local de reunião pública aberto no Porto”.

805 *Congregação Cristã de Portugal*, Op. cit.

806 Original text in Portuguese: “A Convenção das Assembleias de Deus em Portugal, com quase 400 igrejas, é a maior denominação protestante no país”.

807 *Convenção das Assembleias de Deus em Portugal*, (Information: Wikipédia – A enciclopédia livre. [Em linha]. Sv costumes. A Wikimedia Project. Wikimedia Foundation, Inc. San Francisco, United States. <http://pt.wikipedia.org/>. Accessed on 31 January, 2014. Pastor [?]. Porto, [Portugal]).

history of the Portuguese Assemblies of God started in “1913”.⁸⁰⁸ Paulo Branco is the Principal of the Monte Esperança Instituto Bíblico das Assembleias de Deus in Fanhões, Loures, author of *Movidos Pelo Espírito: Líderes Pentecostais em Portugal – 1906-1986 e suas Convenções – 1939-2013*. As he has informed,⁸⁰⁹ “José Plácido da Costa (1869-1965) ... came to Portugal in April 1913, to Valezim, to establish the Pentecostal Church [Assembly of God] in Portugal”.⁸¹⁰ Other Pentecostal denominations: The Congregação Cristã em Portugal, which we have mentioned before as a member of the Aliança das Igrejas de Deus do 7º Dia de Portugal;⁸¹¹ The Igreja do Evangelho Quadrangular is also presently being established in Portugal;⁸¹² and, the Igreja Nova Apostólica.⁸¹³ In a telephonic conversation with the District Elder (Ancião de Distrito) Mário Ferreira to inform this thesis, Mister Ferreira said the Igreja Nova Apostólica was established in Portugal in “1982”.⁸¹⁴

- b) Neo-Pentecostals** – This group of Christian denominations was established in the next historical period to be studied in Chapter 3. Mainly, we will study the Maná Igreja Cristã and the Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus which were not yet established in the period under scrutiny (1974-1976).

Both lists of Protestant, Evangelical and Pentecostal denominations may be incomplete, but they certainly indicate what the religious landscape was in the historical period under scrutiny (1974/1976).

Protestant, Evangelical and Pentecostal denominations may better be grouped according to their affiliation with organizations such as the AEP and the COPIC, and those not affiliated with either of these two organizations. According to Cardoso *et al* in *Uma*

808 Branco, Paulo, *Movidos Pelo Espírito: Líderes Pentecostais em Portugal – 1906-1986 e suas Convenções – 1939-2013*, (Edições Novas de Alegria – NA. CAPU, CPAD Livraria Cristã, Lisboa – Portugal. www.capu.pt. Edição comemorativa: 100 anos em Portugal, Convenção das Assembleias de Deus. 1ª Edição, Maio 2013), p. 28.

809 Original text in Portuguese: “José Plácido da Costa (1869-1965) ... chegou a Portugal em Abril de 1913, a Valezim, para estabelecer a Igreja Pentecostal [Assembleia de Deus] em Portugal”.

810 Branco, Paulo, *Movidos Pelo Espírito: Líderes Pentecostais em Portugal – 1906-1986 e suas Convenções – 1939-2013*, Op. cit., p. 28.

811 [?], *Aliança das Igrejas de Deus do 7º Dia de Portugal: Igreja Universal de Jesus Cristo; e, Congregação Cristã de Portugal*, Op. cit.

812 *Igreja do Evangelho Quadrangular*, (Online portal, <http://www.top20.md/>. Accessed on 3 February, 2014).

813 *Igreja Nova Apostólica - Portugal*, (Apostle Armin Brinkmann and Apostle Manuel Luiz. Sassoeiros, Carcavelos. <http://www.igrejanovaapostolica.org/>. Accessed on 1 February, 2014).

814 Da Silva, F. C., *Telephonic interview Mr. Mário Ferreira*, (Conducted on 1 February, 2014 at 9:26 am. Sassoeiros, Carcavelos. Portugal).

*Caminhada Ecluménica*⁸¹⁵ the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance (Aliança Ecluménica Portuguesa – AEP) was established in 1935⁸¹⁶ and went through an internal transformation in 1975 as a result of the 1974 Revolution. The reason for the internal makeover resulted from the necessity to change the original 1935 AEP’s Statutes to accept religious organizations⁸¹⁷ “... as members”,⁸¹⁸ instead of individual believers. The alteration of the AEP’s Statutes increased the potential for the AEP to become a greater platform for Evangelical and Pentecostal institutions that⁸¹⁹ “converged”⁸²⁰ in search to collectively voice their aspirations as spiritual communities. Four distinct groups called “Families”⁸²¹ form the structure of the AEP, which are the Brethren, the Baptists, the Assemblies of God and the Fraternal Association. According to Santos, the AEP Churches are⁸²² “Congregational Denominations”⁸²³ because their organizational structure is democratic.

The Churches of the AEP are ecclesiastically organised in a congregational democratic form and, as Santos states,⁸²⁴ “These Churches ... integrate the World Evangelical Alliance and do not engage with the ecumenical movement”.⁸²⁵ Through its elected leadership the AEP is committed to the above mentioned regular dialogue between CEP, COPIC and AEP leadership for mutual understanding of each other’s Christian point of view. The relations between the AEP with the COPIC are much deeper than those

815 Cardoso, Manuel P., and, Ireneu da S. Cunha, Nelson P. Horta, and, José M. Leite, *Uma Caminhada Ecluménica*, (Information: Conselho Português de Igrejas Cristãs, Porto. 1996. <http://www.igreja-metodista.pt/>. Accessed on 28 December, 2013), p. 5.

816 [?], *Aliança Ecluménica Portuguesa*, (Information: Lisboa. Portugal. <http://www.aliancaevangelica.pt>. Accessed on 30 December, 2013).

817 Original text in Portuguese: “... como membros”.

818 Cardoso, Manuel P., et al, *Uma Caminhada Ecluménica*, (Information: Conselho Português de Igrejas Cristãs, Porto. 1996. <http://www.igreja-metodista.pt/>. Accessed on 28 December, 2013), p. 5.

819 Original text in Portuguese: “convergência”.

820 Santos, Luís Aguiar Santos, *O Protestantismo em Portugal (Séculos XIX e XX): Linhas de Força da Sua História e Historiografia*, Op. Cit, p.48.

821 Da Silva, F. C., *A Study of the Charismatic Movement in Portugal With Particular Reference to the Fraternal Association*, Op. cit., p. 121.

822 Original text in Portuguese: “Denominações ‘congregacionais’”.

823 Santos, Luís Aguiar Santos, *O Protestantismo em Portugal (Séculos XIX e XX): Linhas de Força da Sua História e Historiografia*, Op. cit., p.48.

824 Original text in Portuguese: “Estão integradas na Aliança Ecluménica Mundial e são refratárias ao movimento ecluménico”.

825 Santos, Luís Aguiar Santos, *O Protestantismo em Portugal (Séculos XIX e XX): Linhas de Força da Sua História e Historiografia*, Op. cit.

between the AEP and the CEP, as Cardoso *et al* describe,⁸²⁶ “The climate of ‘good neighbours’ has been preserved in many cases by strategic considerations”.⁸²⁷

Nevertheless, not all non-Roman Catholic Christian denominations are represented by the AEP or by the COPIC, as Manuel P. Cardoso *et al* point out,⁸²⁸ “Not all non-Catholic Christians...accept being represented either by the COPIC or by the AEP”.⁸²⁹ Protestant/Evangelical Churches not affiliated either with the COPIC or the AEP are the following:

- a) **Churches not affiliated with either the AEP but of the same ecclesiastical type**⁸³⁰ – Emaús - Comunidade Evangélica de Estudantes, Igreja Adventista do Sétimo Dia, Igreja Cristã Portuguesa dos Adventistas do 7.º Dia - Movimento de Reforma, the Church of Scotland, the Igreja da Vitória; Igreja Evangélica Presbiteriana de Cristo; Igreja Cristã de Lisboa; Igreja Evangélica Pentecostal; Liga Evangélica Missionária; Assembleia de Deus Pentecostal; Igreja Evangélica Chelense; Igreja Protestante Inglesa St. Georges; and, Congregação Cristã em Portugal.
- b) **The Portuguese Adventist Church is not affiliated either with the AEP nor with the COPIC due to another reason than the above mentioned Churches** – The Portuguese Adventist Church⁸³¹ is considered as Evangelical; however, because they observe the Sabbath instead of the Christian tradition of using the Sunday as the ‘Day of the Lord’ the AEP and the COPIC do not accept the Adventist denomination as a member. The relationship between the Adventist Church with the Protestant, Evangelical and Pentecostal communities and vice-versa is done by maintaining equidistance and mutual respect.

The above are lists of denominations mutually recognized as trends of Christianity but other religious groups also claim to be Christian which deliberately were not included in

826 Original text in Portuguese: “O clima de “boa vizinhança” tenha sido preservado em muitos casos por considerações estratégicas”.

827 Cardoso, Manuel P., et al, *Uma Caminhada Ecuménica*, Op. cit., p. 2.

828 Original text in Portuguese: “Nem todos os cristãos não católicos, é necessário dizê-lo, se aceitam representados quer pelo COPIC quer pela AEP”.

829 Cardoso, Manuel P., et al, *Uma Caminhada Ecuménica*, Op. cit.

830 Olga, Bastos, *Lista de Igrejas que Não São Membros da AEP*, (Letter: Attached to an email received on 30 December, 2013, at 7:31 pm from the AEP office. Accessed on 31 December, 2013).

831 *Igreja Adventista do Sétimo Dia. União Portuguesa dos Adventistas do Sétimo Dia*. (Lisboa. Portugal. <http://www.adventistas.org.pt/>. Accessed on 10 January, 2014).

the list because the above mentioned Christian Churches do not considered them as such. Therefore, to differentiate them in the discussion of this thesis these religious entities are called Para-Christian denominations.

2.4.2 PARA-CHRISTIAN DENOMINATIONS

By 1976 there were religious organizations which claim to be Christian, but they are not accepted as such by the general Christian community established in Portugal. Belonging to this category are the following religious entities: the First Church of Christ Scientology (Primeira Igreja de Cristo Cientista);⁸³² the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Igreja de Jesus Cristo dos Santos dos Últimos Dias – Mórmones);⁸³³ the Jehovah's Witnesses (Associação das Testemunhas de Jeová)⁸³⁴ and; the New Apostolic Church (Igreja Nova Apostólica).⁸³⁵ As an example, the Jehovah's Witnesses are considered as⁸³⁶ “theologically deformed”⁸³⁷ by Roman Catholic scholar Francisco Tavares Sanches in *O Desafio das Seitas no quadro pastoral da Igreja em Cabo Verde* and⁸³⁸ as “an heretic sect” by Protestant churches according to Pedro Pinto in *A implantação das Testemunhas de Jeová em Portugal e no Ultramar português (1925-1974)*.⁸³⁹

The above lists demonstrate how Christianity manifested by different denominations and according to various theological and historical trends. However, the Jewish Communities are found in the country since long before the Protestants/Evangelicals, whose brief history needs to be addressed to make sense of their presence after the 25 April in Portugal.

832 [?], *Primeira Igreja de Cristo Cientista*, (Information: Lisboa, [Portugal]. <http://christianscience.com/>. Accessed on 1 January, 2014).

833 [?], *Igreja de Jesus Cristo dos Santos dos Últimos Dias (Mórmones)*, (Information: <http://www.lds.org/>. Accessed on 4 January, 2014).

834 [?], *Associação das Testemunhas de Jeová*, (Information: Alcabideche. Estoril. Portugal. <http://www.jw.org/>. Accessed on 4 January, 2014).

835 Luiz, Manuel, Ed., *Igreja Nova Apostólica - Portugal*, (Information: Igreja Nova Apostólica Portugal, Monte Abraão, Queluz, [Portugal]. <http://www.igrejanovaapostolica.org/>. Accessed on 23 January, 2014).

836 Original text in Portugal: “A escolha de abordar ... as Testemunhas de Jeová ... é motivada ... pelo impacto social que têm tido e por apresentar caminhos desafiadores para o nosso tempo, sobretudo no aspeto da reflexão teológica deformada”.

837 Sanches, Francisco Tavares, *O Desafio das Seitas no quadro pastoral da Igreja em Cabo Verde*, (Dissertation: Degree of Master in Theology, Faculdade de Teologia, Universidade Católica Portuguesa. Lisboa. [Portugal]. 2014), p. 4.

838 Original text in Portuguese: “Igrejas protestantes...e ministros protestantes como João Jorge Oliveira, Baptista...classificava...de uma ‘seita herética – o Russelismo’ (uma alusão a Charles Taze Russel) fundador das Testemunhas de Jeová”.

839 Pinto, Pedro, *A implantação das Testemunhas de Jeová em Portugal e no Ultramar português (1925-1974)*, (Article: Lusitânia Sacra. 25 (Janeiro-Junho 2012). Centro de Estudos Históricos – Universidade Nova de Lisboa. [Lisboa, Portugal], 2012), p. 135.

2.5 THE PORTUGUESE JEWISH COMMUNITIES

Jewish communities established in Lusitania which was part of the Roman Province of Spain whose geography is closely related to the borders of Portugal. When Portugal became independent in 1143, the Jewish minority was already found in important places such as “Santarém”,⁸⁴⁰ according to an article entitled *História Judaica*. Adding to this, the Portuguese history is intertwined with the history of those Portuguese Jews which through historical vicissitudes established the Lisbon Jewish Community, the Porto Jewish Community and the Belmonte Jewish Community that will be studied.

2.5.1 THE LISBON JEWISH COMMUNITY

The Jewish community based in Lisbon is called Israeli Lisbon Community (Comunidade Israelita de Lisboa) whose members descend from Jews that came from Gibraltar and Morocco in the early nineteenth century. Some of these Lisbon Jews had Portuguese surnames because their ancestors had been expelled from Portuguese territories when they refused to convert to Roman Catholicism. As Fábio André Hahn states in *Cristãos-Novos em Portugal: Da Conversão à Instauração da Inquisição* King Dom Manuel I⁸⁴¹ “Envisioned to force Jews to become Christians”⁸⁴² as a political manoeuvre to maintain them in the country as well as to please the Spanish royal couple Ferdinand and Isabela who had expelled them from Spain.

The Jews who returned in the nineteenth century faced difficulties particularly when their oldest began to die and public cemeteries were only provided for Roman Catholics. Consequently, when the first Jew, José Amzalak, died in Lisbon on 26 February, 1804 there was no cemetery available for his burial. The Lisbon Jewish community had to ask the English community for permission to bury Amzalak in their cemetery,⁸⁴³ “The English Cemetery at Estrela [in Lisbon]”,⁸⁴⁴ as Esther Mucznik states in *Comunidade*

840 [?], *História Judaica*, (Information: Rede de Judiarias de Portugal / Centro de Estudos Judaicos Adriano Vasco Rodrigues.

Belmonte. Portugal. <http://www.redejudiariasportugal.com/>. Accessed on 4 January, 2014).

841 Original text in Portuguese: “vislumbra... tornar os judeus cristãos”.

842 Hahn, Fábio André, *Cristãos-Novos em Portugal: Da Conversão à Instauração da Inquisição*, (Article: TIDE, Ciências Sociais, Fecilcam. [Faculdade Estadual de Ciências e Letras de Campo Mourão]. IV EPCT Encontro de Produção Científica e Tecnologia. [Brazil]. 2009), p. 2.

843 Original text in Portuguese: “... Cemitério Inglês da Estrela [em Lisboa] ”.

844 Mucznik, Esther, *Comunidade Israelita de Lisboa*, (Information: Rede de Judiarias de Portugal / Centro de Estudos Judaicos Adriano Vasco Rodrigues. Lisboa. Portugal. <http://www.redejudiariasportugal.com/>. Accessed on 4 January, 2014).

Israelita de Lisboa. However, in spite of the difficulties to settle and prosper the Lisbon Jewish community developed some important organizations such as,⁸⁴⁵

Somej-Nophlim (Support of the Poor) was established in 1865 by Simon Anahory ... in 1916 which paved the way for the Jewish Hospital ... [and the] Guemilut Hassadim founded in 1892 by Moses Anahory to administer spiritual aid and to deal with Jewish burials.⁸⁴⁶

The Synagogue Shaaré Tikvá began to be constructed in 1902 and was dedicated in 1904 situated in Rua Alexandre Herculano 59, however, Mucznik states that the Synagogue⁸⁴⁷ “Had to be built within a walled yard as it was not permitted to be built facing the public road in the shape of a temple which was only allowed for the official state religion that was [Roman] Catholic religion”.⁸⁴⁸ Recognizing the problem, in 1868 King Dom Luis gave a license⁸⁴⁹ for the Jewish community to establish a cemetery. It was the beginning of a process for official recognition of the Lisbon Jewish Community by the Republican Government in 1912.⁸⁵⁰ According to Mucznik after Caetano’s fall the Lisbon Jewish Community welcomed the Revolution initiated by the 1974 *coup d’état*,⁸⁵¹

The political openness of the post-revolution of 25 April and the opening of the borders with the entry of Portugal into the European Union has brought to our country many Jewish citizens from different countries of Europe as well as from Brazil. This may rapidly give a new configuration to the Jewish community in Portugal.⁸⁵²

As mentioned previously, the Portuguese Jewish communities included those living in Porto who also witnessed the positive change resulting from the 1974 Revolution.

2.5.2 THE PORTO JEWISH COMMUNITY

The Porto Israeli Community (Comunidade Israelita do Porto) built the biggest Synagogue of the Iberian Peninsula which is called the Kadoorie Mevor Haim Fountain

845 Original text in Portuguese: “Somej-Nophlim (Amparo dos Pobres), criada em 1865 por Simão Anahory ... em 1916, esta associação abrirá o Hospital Israelita ...; [e a] Guemilut Hassadim, fundada em 1892 por Moses Anahory para ministrar os socorros espirituais e tratar dos enterros judaicos”.

846 Mucznik, Esther, *Comunidade Israelita de Lisboa*, Op. cit.

847 Original text in Portuguese: “Teve de ser construída dentro de um quintal muralhado, dado que não era permitida a construção com fachada para a via pública de um templo que não fosse de religião católica, então religião oficial do estado”.

848 Mucznik, Esther, *Comunidade Israelita de Lisboa*, Op. cit.

849 Ibid.

850 Ibid.

851 Original text in Portuguese: “A abertura política da pós-revolução de Abril e das fronteiras, com a entrada de Portugal na União Europeia, tem feito chegar ao nosso país cidadãos judeus originários de diversos países, da Europa e do Brasil. Esta vinda, a acelerar-se, poderá dar uma nova configuração à comunidade judaica em Portugal”.

852 Mucznik, Esther, *Comunidade Israelita de Lisboa*, Op. cit.

of Life (Fonte de Vida).⁸⁵³ The Porto's Synagogue was registered in 1923 in the Civil Government of Porto in a process lead by Captain Artur Barros Basto a Portuguese convert to Judaism.⁸⁵⁴ The fact that this Synagogue has its front to the street demonstrates that the Porto authorities of the First Republic were more opened to religious pluralism than those in Lisbon about two decades before when the Lisbon Synagogue was erected. The other Jewish Community of note is the one in and around the castle of Belmonte, a small town on top of a beautiful mount in the central Portuguese hills not far from Spain.

2.5.3 THE BELMONTE JEWISH COMMUNITY

Passing through the narrow streets of Belmonte the traveller meets Jewish people at every corner. They are members of the local Synagogue which was built to accommodate the Belmonte Jewish Community (Comunidade Judaica de Belmonte). Most of the inhabitants of the town are Jews, busy with their coffee shops and businesses linked with the production of kosher agricultural products. Here is the origin of the famous kosher wines appreciated worldwide that are produced by companies such as Cordovero, Adega Cooperativa da Covilhã and Sociedade Agrícola Félix Rocha, Lda.⁸⁵⁵ According to an article entitled *Comunidade Judaica de Belmonte*, the Belmonte Jewish Community⁸⁵⁶ “Is the only genuine [Iberian] Peninsular community with its roots from the ancient historical presence of the Sephardic Jews”.⁸⁵⁷ The Belmonte Jewish Community was able to preserve most of its rites, prayers and social relations even under the pressure of the Inquisition that tried to integrate the Jewish communities into the Portuguese society and its official Roman Catholic religion regardless of which the *Comunidade Judaica de Belmonte* states,⁸⁵⁸ “Many New Christians [Jews] from Belmonte continued to marry only among themselves which they have done for centuries”.⁸⁵⁹

853 *Sinagoga Kadoorie Mekor Haim*. (Information: Porto, Portugal. <http://comunidade-israelita-porto.org/>. Accessed on 11 January, 2014).

854 [?], *A sinagoga e a Comunidade Judaica do Porto*, (Information: Wikipédia, A enciclopédia livre. A Wikimedia Project. Wikipedia Foundation, Inc. San Francisco, United States. <http://pt.wikipedia.org/>. Accessed on 11 January, 2014).

855 Carvalho, Tiago, *Portugal's kosher wines*, (Information: Turismo de Portugal, <http://www.insideportugaltravel.com/>. Accessed on 16 June, 2015).

856 Original text in Portuguese: “É a única comunidade peninsular herdeira legítima da antiga presença histórica dos judeus sefarditas”.

857 [?], *Comunidade Judaica de Belmonte*, (Information: Rede de Judiarias de Portugal / Centro de Estudos Judaicos Adriano Vasco Rodrigues. Belmonte. Portugal. <http://www.redejudiariasportugal.com/>. Accessed on 4 January, 2014).

858 Original text in Portuguese: “muitos dos belmontenses cristãos-novos continuaram a casar-se apenas entre si durante séculos”.

859 [?], *Comunidade Judaica de Belmonte*, Op. cit.

This old Jewish Community was only officially recognized in 1989 as Comunidade Judaica de Belmonte and its Synagogue Beit Eliahu (Son of Elijah / Filho de Elias) were finally inaugurated in 1996. This temple was built on the old Jewish neighbourhood of the town where there is also a “Jewish Cemetery (fortune Azoulay) inaugurated in 2001”.⁸⁶⁰

Alongside the Jewish communities, who centuries ago settled in Portugal, the Moors also came and ruled from 712 to 1249 AD⁸⁶¹ with their Islamic religion and culture. This will be addressed because other Muslims immigrated to Portugal more than eight centuries later as a result of the 25 April, 1974 Revolution.

2.6 THE LISBON ISLAMIC COMMUNITY (COMUNIDADE ISLÂMICA DE LISBOA)

To understand the presence of a practicing Muslim community in Lisbon, established as a consequence of the 25 April, 1974 Revolution, a brief historical framework must be given. The establishment of Portugal as an independent country was marked by constant wars against the Moors. According to an article by António Gasparetto Junior entitled *Reconquista da Península Ibérica*:⁸⁶² “Reconquista is the name given to the military process of reconquering geographical parts of the Iberian Peninsula which for centuries had been subject to Muslim occupation”.⁸⁶³ From the Algarve in the south to the Mondego River in the centre, all that Portuguese territory was once under Muslim control as stated by an article entitled *A Formação de Portugal*.⁸⁶⁴ The Muslim control exerted its Islamic influence on culture in the typical style of music called *fado*, in architecture as expressed in buildings such as houses, towns and castles and, in language as Islamic influence is shown in the enormous number of words of Arabic origin. Corroboratively,

⁸⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁸⁶¹ [?], *A Presença Islâmica em Portugal*, (Information: ISLAMbr, Centro de Divulgação do Islam para a América Latina. [Brazil], 2013, p. 1. Online portal, <http://islambr.com.br/>. Accessed on 16 June, 2015).

⁸⁶² Original text in Portuguese: “Reconquista é o nome dado para o processo de retomada por parte dos cristãos da Península Ibérica, que ficou por séculos sob ocupação muçulmana”.

⁸⁶³ Junior, Antonio Gasparetto, *Reconquista da Península Ibérica*, (Information: Info Escola, Navegando e Aprendendo. Terra. <http://www.infoescola.com/>. Accessed on 4 January, 2014).

⁸⁶⁴ [?], *A Formação de Portugal*, (Information: Início História de Portugal. Hirondino, 2012. <http://www.hirondino.com/>. Accessed on 4 January, 2014).

an article entitled *Cultura e História* states,⁸⁶⁵ “The Arab/Islamic presence profoundly marked our culture, our history, and in our language existing about 1200 words [in Portuguese] of Arabic origin”.⁸⁶⁶ However, the Islamic religious influence ended in 1496 when King Dom Manuel I expelled both Portuguese Jews and Muslims from the country if they refused to convert to Roman Catholicism.⁸⁶⁷

The Inquisition Tribunal’s archives mention some Portuguese accused⁸⁶⁸ of practicing Islam in the seventeenth century. Names like Manuel Rodrigues, António Cacheiro and Sebastião Correia Peixoto, whose surnames are Portuguese, were probably forced to alter their surnames from their previous Arabic status. Many Muslims disguised themselves and departed, but others remained in the country, fearing the King’s decree,⁸⁶⁹ “Cut the foot of the Moor caught running away”.⁸⁷⁰ It was under the Inquisition period from “1536 to 1821”⁸⁷¹ that Islam disappeared from the Portuguese religious landscape until it reappeared one and a half centuries later in late 1950’s and early 1960’s in the form of Sunnite Muslim. However, it was only after the 25 April, 1974 Revolution that the Sunnite Muslim gained greater expression in Lisbon and were able to build their magnificent Mosque.⁸⁷² According to Alexandra Prado Coelho’s article entitled *Comunidade Muçulmana em Portugal Está Cada Vez Mais Diversificada*,⁸⁷³ “The first Muslims to arrive in Portugal were college students from Mozambique but of Indian origin”.⁸⁷⁴ The Lisbon Islamic Community (Comunidade Islâmica de Lisboa)⁸⁷⁵ was

865 Original text in Portuguese: “A presença árabe durou mais de 4 séculos (714-1247) no agora território português. Esta presença árabe/islâmica marcou profundamente a nossa cultura, a nossa história e a nossa língua, existindo mais de 1200 palavras com origem árabe”.

866 Munir, Sheikh David, *Cultura e História*, (Information: Comunidade Islâmica de Lisboa, Lisboa. Portugal. <http://www.comunidadeislamica.pt/>. Accessed on 6 January, 2014).

867 [?], *A Presença Islâmica em Portugal*, Op. cit.

868 Ibid.

869 Original text in Portuguese: “Que se corte o pé ao mouro que fuja”.

870 [?], *A Presença Islâmica em Portugal*, Op. cit.

871 Anderson, R. Warren, *Measuring the Portuguese Inquisition*, (Paper: University of Michigan-Dearborn. [United States]. June 2013), p. 2.

872 Other forms of the Muslim faith are also established in Portugal but at a later stage after the historical period being discussed (1974-1976).

873 Original text in Portuguese: “... os primeiros muçulmanos a chegar a Portugal eram estudantes universitários, vindos de Moçambique, da comunidade de origem indiana”.

874 Coelho, Alexandra Prado, *Comunidade Muçulmana em Portugal Está Cada Vez Mais Diversificada*, (News report: Jornal Público, Sexta-feira, 19 de Março de 2004. <http://www.publico.pt>. Also in: Observatório da Imigração. Notícia. ACIDI, Alto Comissariado Para a Imigração e Diálogo Intercultural, I. P., Número. <http://www.oi.acidi.gov.pt/>. Accessed on 6 January, 2014).

875 Munir, Sheikh David, *Comunidade Islâmica de Lisboa (1968)*, (Information: Lisboa. Portugal. <http://www.comunidadeislamica.pt/>. Accessed on 6 January, 2014).

formally established at the beginning of the Caetano's consulate during the New State era in "1968"⁸⁷⁶ as José Mapril states in *"Bangla masjid": Islão e bengalidade entre os bangladeshianos em Lisboa*.

2.7 SUMMARY OF CHAPTER TWO

This chapter focused on the developments of the 25 April, 1974 *coup d'état* and the consequent Revolution following it, until the adoption of the 1976 *Constitution*. It analysed how the 25 April, 1974 *coup d'état* and Revolution impacted religious freedom in the transition period for democracy (1974-1976) under scrutiny. It initiated discussion with the "Order System Operation" (Operação Fim-Regime) followed by an explanation on its impact on religious freedom and the struggle to implement it. An analysis of the reaction towards democracy by religious bodies was studied including democracy and freedom of religion in the new Constitutional text. This chapter proceeded to study social transformation in order to understand why it facilitated religious proliferation which is contained in a list of religious bodies established in the country.

In addition, this chapter covered the impact of the *coup d'état* on general freedom and human rights while the Movement of the Armed Forces struggled to implement its initial promises including decolonization and the first elections in 1975. The Socialist Party, Roman Catholics and Portuguese emigrants helped to establish democracy in Portugal as discussed in this chapter. Thereafter, the study addressed democracy and religion in various aspects such as how religious leaders dealt with democracy and how religious freedom was included in the 1976 *Constitution* only in general terms. The 1976 *Constitution* was studied and problems were found related to the antagonist sources of inspiration such as Communism and democracy of European type. The 1971 *Religious Freedom Act* as well as the *Additional Protocol to the 1940 Concordat* was scrutinized. During the transitional period from dictatorship to democracy (1974-1976) the principle of religious freedom was gradually included in legislation and integrated into social consciousness thus paving the way for religious entities other than Roman Catholic to be established in the country.

⁸⁷⁶ Mapril, José, *"Bangla masjid": Islão e bengalidade entre os bangladeshianos em Lisboa*, (Article: *Análise Social: Revista do Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade de Lisboa*, Vol. XXXIX (173), 2005. Lisboa. Portugal. <http://analisesocial.ics.ul.pt/>. Accessed on 6 January, 2014), p. 853.

The religious reaction to the new Constitutional regime which included leaders from the Roman Catholic, Protestant, Evangelical, Pentecostal, Jewish and Muslim communities was presented in this chapter.

The next chapter, chapter three, will study the transitional phase for democratic normalization (1976-1986) including the *1982 Constitutional Revision* and the preparation for Portugal to become a member state of the European Economic Community (EEC).

CHAPTER 3

THE TRANSITIONAL PHASE FOR DEMOCRATIC NORMALIZATION (1976-1985)

This chapter presents a discussion of the transitional phase for democratic normalization during the period 1976 to 1985 and includes the motivation for the *1982 Constitutional Revision* as well as the process to prepare the country to become a member state of the European Economic Community (EEC). In addition this chapter addresses the profound democratic transformation of the Portuguese society that resulted in social and economic development. However, the revolutionary process set in motion by the *coup d'état* of 25 April, 1974 continued to pose difficulties of the national EEC's membership aim which required the adjustment of policies and legislation. The discussion in this chapter will demonstrate how freedom of religion continued to be a part of the general freedoms granted by the *1982 Constitutional Revision*.

According to Stewart Lloyd-Jones in *Portugal's history since 1974*, the transitional phase of democratic normalization (1976-1985) included three essential aspects; the *1982 Constitutional Revision*, the "Taming [of] the radicals and, [the] pursuit [of] Europe".⁸⁷⁷ While preparing to become a member state of the EEC Portugal cemented religious freedom in legislation which resulted in social and legislative transformation and paved the way for religious proliferation.

3.1 TRANSFORMATION OF THE PORTUGUESE SOCIETY

The Portuguese society was prepared for a paradigm shift from an authoritarian regime to democracy. The desire for change made the 1974 *coup d'état* different from previous attempts to change the Portuguese nation. The keenness to adopt the democratic regime resulted in a lasting and deeper social and legislative transformation reflected by the first *1982 Constitutional Revision* just six years after its promulgation. The relevance of the *1982 Constitutional Revision* for this thesis is that it initiated the process of redefinition

⁸⁷⁷ Lloyd-Jones, Stewart, *Portugal's history since 1974*, (Paper: CPHRC Working Papers, Series 2, Number 1 (November 2001).

<http://www1.ci.uc.pt/>. Accessed on 24 February, 2014), p. 6.

concerning the issue of religious freedom, freedom of expression and freedom of association.

The 1974 *coup d'état* had a radical consequence for the Portuguese foreign policy because it prompted Portugal to shift her focus from overseas colonialist to find a European focus. The industrialization initiated in mid twentieth century did not result in economic growth because Salazar kept the populations illiterate and incapable of getting modernized. Consequently, the economic and social underdevelopment experienced in Portugal needed to be resolved to prepare the country to become a member state of the EEC.

3.1.1 SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN PORTUGAL WITH THE COMMITMENT TO RESPECT HUMAN RIGHTS

The EEC development standards required a set of social and economic pre-conditions which Portugal had to meet in order to become a member state. However, the country was determined to resolve Europe's requirements related to its democratisation, liberalisation and modernisation which the Portuguese faced from 1976 to 1985. While meeting the European's challenge of social and economic pre-conditions Portugal encountered legislative constraints resolved by the 1982 *Constitutional Revision* but also by the secularized patterns of political behaviour. The trauma of the colonial wars was replaced in the collective social fabric by the dream of becoming a modern country and a proud member state of the EEC. The Portuguese celebrated democracy and liberty while it permitted social and economic transformation in preparation for its integration in the EEC.

3.1.1.1 The Portuguese social and economic transformation

The financial constraints as the result of the colonial wars and the underdeveloped industrialization negatively impacted the social and economic Portuguese reality compared with that of most European societies. "Compared with the economies of other nations of Western Europe ... [the Portuguese] economy ... [was] less modernized and their people had a lower standard of living".⁸⁷⁸ (Richard E. Sullivan, Dennis Sherman and John B. Harrison in *A Short History of Western Civilization*). Sullivan *et al* state that

⁸⁷⁸ Sullivan, Richard E., Dennis Sherman, and John B. Harrison, *A Short History of Western Civilization*, (McGraw Hill Inc., A Division of The McGraw-Hill Companies. New York, New York. United States of America. Eighth Edition, 1994), p. 712.

Portugal, Spain and Greece had to deal with modernisation of their economies to become member states of the EEC,

All three governments have had to deal with economies less modern than those in Western Europe and with societies that had a lower standard of living. Yet, events have pulled these southern European countries into the mainstream of Western European affairs; in the 1980s all three gained membership in the Common Market.⁸⁷⁹

Portugal applied to integrate as a member state of the EEC in 1977 but the initial process of European integration had already begun in 1958 when the EEC's member states adopted the "*Acquis Communautaire*".⁸⁸⁰ Vaughne Miller explain in *The EU's Acquis Communautaire* that the "*Acquis Communautaire*" is the "Accumulated body of law and obligations from 1958 to the present day"⁸⁸¹ required for the continued integration of all member states. Therefore, Portugal had to perform expeditiously on her social, economic and cultural transformation in order to develop at a rapid pace to keep abreast with the rest of the EEC's countries that were already highly developed. One of the most important areas that required transformation in Portugal was "The development of democratic institutional norms [which] has taken time ... [as well as] significant events ... towards the consolidation of its democratic regime"⁸⁸² as Paul Christopher Manuel describes in *Portuguese Exceptionalism and the Return to Europe: the 25 April 1974 Coup and Democratization, 1974-2010*. Portuguese policies had also to be addressed such as the reform of the education system to alleviate the problem of illiteracy in order to prepare the work force for the faster growth of the economy. According to Nuno Nunes in *A Sociologia das Classes Sociais na Investigação Sociológica em Portugal*⁸⁸³ the problem was "The poor levels of literacy in Portugal"⁸⁸⁴ which resulted in the productive and economic fabric to be dependent on the low-skilled professionals. The reform of the education system was fundamental to economic growth and social development because the low levels of literacy had given rise to generalised poverty and underdevelopment.

⁸⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁸⁰ Miller, Vaughne, *The EU's Acquis Communautaire*, (House of Commons Library. Parliament Archives, House of Parliament, London, United Kingdom. SN/IA/5944. 26 April 2011), p. 1.

⁸⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸⁸² Manuel, Paul Christopher, *Portuguese Exceptionalism and the Return to Europe: the 25 April 1974 Coup and Democratization, 1974-2010*, Op. cit., p. [2].

⁸⁸³ Original text in Portuguese: "Aos fracos níveis da literacia em Portugal".

⁸⁸⁴ Nunes, Nuno Filipe, *A sociologia das classes sociais na investigação sociológica em Portugal*, (Article: VI Congresso Português de Sociologia. Mundos Sociais: Saberes e Práticas. Universidade Nova de Lisboa. Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas. 25 a 28 de Julho de 2008. <http://www.aps.pt/>. Accessed on 17 February, 2014), p. 8.

Portugal gained structural and social transformations from 1976 to 1985 because the democratic regime immediately instituted reform of the educational system as Nunes points out,⁸⁸⁵ “The generalization of the frequency of the educational system was one of the most remarkable structural transformations of recent decades in Portuguese society”.⁸⁸⁶ However, it is imperative ‘the remarkable structural and social transformation of the Portuguese’ resulted from more than half a million people who arrived from the colonies and needed to be integrated into the Portuguese social and economic fabric as Auzília Anica describe in *Transformações na sociedade portuguesa e integração na CEE*,⁸⁸⁷

In the ‘70s, emigration halted and starts the inverse phenomenon: Into Portugal entered more than half a million people from the former colonies, which was necessary to integrate socially and professionally. Portugal became, thereafter, a magnet for immigrants, mostly from African Portuguese speaking countries.⁸⁸⁸

Portugal returned to Europe after centuries of absence to rebuild an international Empire which was collapsing. Therefore, the process of social and economic transformation put in motion had the national objective to turn away the focus of the Portuguese foreign affairs from the colonial wars and the overseas Empire towards a new European vocation through which Portugal aspired to gain political, economic and social development.

3.1.1.2 Portugal’s return to Europe and signs a Convention on Human Rights

Within the former European political, social, economic and development context Portugal was a unique case according to Paul Christopher Manuel in *Portuguese Exceptionalism and the Return to Europe: the 25 April 1974 Coup and Democratization, 1974-2010*, “[Until 1974] there was the widespread belief that the Portuguese society and government existed outside of the European understandings of society, politics and authority relations”.⁸⁸⁹ However, Portugal returned to Europe in a dramatic revolutionary way and become the “Epicentre for the late worldwide move to democracy that has come

⁸⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 7.

⁸⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁸⁷ Original text in Portuguese: “Na década de 70, a emigração estancou e começa a verificar-se o fenómeno inverso: entraram em Portugal mais de meio milhão de pessoas provenientes das ex-colónias, as quais foi necessário integrar social e profissionalmente. Portugal passa, a partir de então, a ser um polo de atracção para imigrantes, principalmente provenientes dos países africanos de língua portuguesa”.

⁸⁸⁸ Anica, Auzília, *Transformações na sociedade portuguesa e integração na CEE*, Op. cit., p. 1.

⁸⁸⁹ Manuel, Paul Christopher, *Portuguese Exceptionalism and the Return to Europe: the 25 April 1974 Coup and Democratization, 1974-2010*, Op. cit., p. 2.

to be known as the ‘Third Wave’⁸⁹⁰ as Robert M. Fishman describes in *Legacies of Democratizing Reform and Revolution: Portugal and Spain Compared*.

Nevertheless, the Portuguese return to Europe was a multi-dimensional complex enterprise in which old ideals had to be replaced and adopted by the new democratic regime to inspire a new dream to be captured by the entire nation as the new national goal. According to Manuel,

Portugal’s return to Europe was complex, multi-dimensional, and it included many people during the turbulent days following the Carnation Revolution of 25 April 1974. One political slogan particularly ... [echoed] the hopes and dreams of the Portuguese: Europe with us (A Europa Connosco).⁸⁹¹

The slogan “Europe with Us” (A Europa Connosco) was created by the Socialist Party (PS) immediately after the *coup* with the intention of becoming the expression of the general sentiment of the Portuguese society. The slogan pointed out that the years of the country’s international isolation experienced due to Salazar’s dictatorship had passed and inspired hope for the country’s near future in Europe rather than in Africa or elsewhere in the world. The Portuguese sought after peace, development and prosperity which the Empire could no longer provide. As Manuel state, “In many ways, Portugal’s successful transition to democracy and its subsequent adhesion to the European Union were two concrete steps that helped to fulfil the existential hopes pregnant in that slogan”.⁸⁹² Dr Mário Soares requested the integration of Portugal as a member state of the EEC to substantiate the PS’s slogan ‘Europe with us’ on 28 March, 1977 as stated by Aurízia Anica in *Transformações na sociedade portuguesa e integração na CEE*,⁸⁹³

The application for EEC’s membership made by the Prime Minister of the First Constitutional Government [Dr Mário Soares] on 03/28/77...must be interpreted in the context of finding solutions to the economic crisis ... faced by the Portuguese economy.⁸⁹⁴

890 Fishman, Robert M., *Legacies of Democratizing Reform and Revolution: Portugal and Spain Compared*, (Article: Instituto de Ciências Sociais, Universidade de Lisboa. Working Papers. Lisboa, [Portugal]. 2005. <http://www.ics.ul.pt/>. Accessed on 17 February, 2014), p. 3.

891 Manuel, Paul Christopher, *Portuguese Exceptionalism and the Return to Europe: the 25 April 1974 Coup and Democratization, 1974-2010*, Op. cit., p. 2.

892 Ibid.

893 Original text in Portuguese: “O pedido de adesão à CEE, feito pelo primeiro-ministro do I Governo Constitucional [Mário Soares], em 28-3-77, deve ser interpretado no contexto da procura de soluções para a crise conjuntural ... da economia portuguesa”.

894 Anica, Aurízia, *Transformações na sociedade portuguesa e integração na CEE*, Op. cit., p. 2.

However, Soares' application for the adhesion of Portugal to become a member state of the EEC faced democratic problems related to the economy and also legal difficulties posed by the *1976 Constitution*.

3.1.1.3 The democratic Government faced challenges related to the *1976 Constitution* but signs a Covenant on Human Rights with the United Nations

Portugal faced several major political challenges to the return to Europe.⁸⁹⁵ According to Manuel, one of these challenges was that the President and the Prime-minister had to learn to interpret their constitutional roles and adequately adjust their democratic interaction. The second challenge was posed by the MFA which managed to institutionalize its political role by being converted into a non-elected body known as the Council of Revolution (Conselho da Revolução). The institutionalization of the Council of Revolution was incongruent with the new democratic spirit because in spite of not being democratically elected its members had powers to veto legislation that they thought to be "anti-revolutionary".⁸⁹⁶ The third challenge was the above mentioned need to transform the Portuguese, legislation, economy and society in order to meet the requirements for Portugal to be integrated into the EEC which was due on the 1st of January, 1986. The fourth challenge posed was "the peaceful alteration of power among competing political parties"⁸⁹⁷ which was difficult to achieve within the new political framework by politicians who were not used to a democratic culture. The fifth challenge faced was the necessity to form political coalitions "across the ideological spectrum ... [which was only] accomplished during the 1986 presidential election".⁸⁹⁸ Finally, during the transition for democratic normalisation Portugal faced the above mentioned challenges within a revolutionary political environment in which the regime attempted to establish democracy.

In spite of the challenges posed by the ambiguous *1976 Constitution* Portugal signed a *Covenant* with the United Nations regarding human rights labelled *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* which was adopted by the United Nations on 16

895 Manuel, Paul Christopher, *Portuguese Exceptionalism and the Return to Europe: the 25 April 1974 Coup and Democratization, 1974-2010*, Op. cit., pp. 12-13.

896 Ibid., p. 13.

897 Ibid., p. 18.

898 Ibid., p. 13.

December, 1966. The Portuguese Government signed the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* on “7 October 1976”⁸⁹⁹ and it was ratified on “15 June 1978”.⁹⁰⁰ Portuguese authorities were determined to commit the country’s policies to respect human rights, a principle facing obstacles posed by the revolutionary political environment.

3.1.2 OBSTACLES TO RELIGIOUS FREEDOM POSED BY THE REVOLUTIONARY POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT

It is important to study the revolutionary political environment in Portugal from 1976 to 1985 because it demonstrates why initially the process of implementing religious freedom was slow. With the demise of the revolutionary political environment the principle of freedom of religion continued to grow as Portugal was developing democracy. Democracy prevailed developing the culture of political interaction while freedom in general and the economy were addressed to prepare the country to integrate the European Economic Community (EEC) which required normalization. Therefore, Portugal looked for balance in her political, social, economic and social domains as essential in the pursuit of her European goal.

3.1.2.1 Finding political balance in the pursuit of European integration

The Portuguese society was fragmented in their conception pertaining to the kind of democracy that should be adopted in the country, which made it difficult to find political balance. The first presidential election presented three political concurrent visions for the country as referred to by Lloyd-Jones as a “New Left”.⁹⁰¹ It was Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho who proposed the New Left. The MFA defended its continuation in power with a moderate political system and, there was the democratic vision presented by General Ramalho Eanes that was supported by Dr Mário Soares and the majority of the Portuguese society. According to Lloyd-Jones, Prime-minister Dr Mário Soares “Hoped to resolve the socio-economic situation and clear the way for Portugal’s eventual

899 *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*, (Legislation: United Nations Treaty Collection. Databases. Treaty Section, Office of Legal Affairs, United Nations, New York, USA. <https://treaties.un.org/>. Accessed on 24 February, 2014).

900 Ibid.

901 Lloyd-Jones, Stewart, *Portugal’s history since 1974*, Op. cit., p. 8.

membership of the European Economic Community”,⁹⁰² in this regard it is evident that Eanes and Soares shared the same vision. The Portuguese society needed to find a balanced position which for the majority of the Portuguese meant “The Europeanization of the political regime”,⁹⁰³ as Manuel states.

The first elections resulted in both the left-wing and the right-wing anti-European tendencies being defeated, thus facilitating the “Europeanization of the political regime”,⁹⁰⁴ which meant that there were no serious differences of opinion in the political parties that survived the transitional period “after 1976”.⁹⁰⁵ As Manuel explains, “Those remaining political forces represented a narrow ideological spectrum and subsequent political forces followed the overall European model”.⁹⁰⁶ Consequently, amid the political tensions a fundamental idea surfaced which was to support the adhesion of Portugal as an EEC member state as soon as possible. This prompted Dr Mário Soares to apply on 28 March, 1977 which process culminated in the signature of the *Treaty of Adhesion* on 12 July, 1985.⁹⁰⁷ This political decision had a definitive impact on religious freedom as well as on the Portuguese policies related to it, which will be discussed later in this thesis. While Portugal was preparing to become a member state of the EEC the process required the revision of the *Constitution* which historical milieu demonstrates the difficult contradictions in the debate as explained next.

3.1.2.2 The historical milieu leading to the 1982 Constitutional Revision

The *1976 Constitution* was adopted under the pressure posed by the revolutionary military as well as by the PCP during the constitutional drafting process. If the new policy was for Portugal to adhere to the EEC, national legislation had to change to accommodate the conditions for that adhesion. Therefore, the *1976 Constitution* was revised and the new Constitutional text was adopted on 30 September, 1982 by the

902 Ibid., p. 8.

903 Manuel, Paul Christopher, *Portuguese Exceptionalism and the Return to Europe: the 25 April 1974 Coup and Democratization, 1974-2010*, Op. cit., p. 10.

904 Ibid.

905 Ibid.

906 Ibid.

907 Mário Alberto Nobre Lopes Soares, (Information: Wikipédia – A enciclopédia livre. A Wikimedia Project. Wikimedia Foundation, Inc. San Francisco, United States. Sv optics. <http://pt.wikipedia.org/>. Accessed on 19 February, 2014).

Constitutional Act No. 1/82 (*Lei Constitucional n.º1/82 de 30 de Setembro*).⁹⁰⁸ It is necessary to conduct an intense examination of the reasons why the *1976 Constitution* needed to be revised without delay. In an article entitled *The Democratic Coup d'état: the Portuguese Coup of 1974 – Substantive Entrenchment*, Ozan O. Varol states that

The constituent assembly was unable to draft the constitution its members desired. Although democratically elected, the constituent assembly was not independent because the major political parties, acceding to demands from the military, signed a written pact agreeing to a supervisory role for the military during the constitution drafting process.⁹⁰⁹

Consequently, the 1976 Constitutional text was ambiguous and inappropriate to serve as the fundamental legislation to guide the country towards European integration, thus the necessity for the revision of the *Constitution*. Law makers and politicians promptly noticed the need to alter the *Constitution*; however, as Varol argues, “The *Constitution* prohibited its revision until 1982 and even then, revision required a two-thirds majority of the Parliament”.⁹¹⁰ The *1976 Constitution* “divided power between the Council of Revolution and the democratically elected Parliament”⁹¹¹ but the balance was in favour of the “Council of Revolution”,⁹¹² which the *Constitution* had given powers of legislative veto for “at least five years”.⁹¹³ Only then the Council of Revolution could have been replaced. Manuel also underlines the fact that the Council of Revolution was anti-democratic because it was not an elected body and so it needed to be removed from the Constitutional text. As Manuel states,

The Council was solely composed of military, chosen by the military, which stood atop of the elected politicians... This situation was entirely anti-democratic and was eventually remedied with the *1982 Constitutional* amendment which abolished the Council.⁹¹⁴

The *1982 Constitutional Revision* was proposed by Prime-Minister Francisco Pinto Balsemão (PSD) with the support of the Socialist's (PS) leader Dr Mário Soares as pointed out by Manuel, “Balsemão reached out to Mário Soares and gained his support to

908 *Lei Constitucional n.º1/82 de 30 de Setembro*, (Legislation: Comissão Nacional de Eleições, <http://www.cne.pt/>. Accessed on 22 June, 2015).

909 Varol, Ozan O., *The Democratic Coup d'État: The Portuguese Coup of 1974 – Substantive Entrenchment*, (Article: The Harvard International Law Journal. Cambridge, Massachusetts. [USA]. Volume 53, Number 2, Summer 2012. <http://www.harvardilj.org/>. Accessed on 17 February, 2014), p. 337.

910 *Ibid.*, p. 338.

911 *Ibid.*

912 *Ibid.*

913 *Ibid.*, p. 339.

914 Manuel, Paul Christopher, *Portuguese Exceptionalism and the Return to Europe: the 25 April 1974 Coup and Democratization, 1974-2010*, Op. cit., p. 13.

significantly amend the 1976 Constitution”.⁹¹⁵ The aim of Balsemão and Soares was to implement a deeper alteration rather than a superficial and cosmetic Constitutional revision to solve constitutional aspects conflicting with the general aspiration emerging in the Portuguese society for a European type of democracy.

3.2 THE 1982 CONSTITUTIONAL REVISION RESOLVES CONFLICTS

The *1982 Constitutional Revision* was written to resolve conflicting problems in constitutional legislation in preparation for the country’s integration as a member state of the EEC. Among confusing legislation the conflicting roles of the President and of the Prime Minister needed to be resolved at Constitutional level. While Prime-minister of the first elected Government Dr Mário Soares had problems with the role of General Ramalho Eanes as President of the Republic as well as problems posed by the existence of the Council of Revolution; consequently, Soares was determined to resolve that in the Constitutional text. As Manuel states,

In 1982, with the support of the CDS, PSD and PS, the National Assembly amended the Constitution by abolishing the Council of Revolution. This amendment also limited the President’s ability to veto legislation or dissolve parliament”.⁹¹⁶

As a result, this study will focus on the first alteration made to the *Constitution* in 1982 as well as other legislation concerned with democracy and freedom of religion, expression, and association. An explanation follows that deals with how steady policies promoted religious freedom.

3.2.1 THE IMPACT OF THE 1982 CONSTITUTIONAL REVISION AND NEW LEGISLATION ON FREEDOM OF RELIGION

The *1976 Constitution* was written within an environment charged with contradictory thoughts and political aspirations affecting the principle of religious freedom. Therefore, substantial rights and freedoms were acquired by the citizen with the first amendment to the *1976 Constitution* which involved the principle of religious freedom. However, to understand their relevance, preliminary considerations need to be discussed on the practical application of the Constitutional legislation as well as a brief analysis of the *1982 Constitutional Revision*.

⁹¹⁵ Ibid., p. 14.

⁹¹⁶ Ibid.

3.2.1.1 Preliminary considerations on the need for the 1982 *Constitutional Revision*

On 2 April, 1976 the Constituent Assembly approved the *1976 Constitution* which came into being on 25 April, 1976. According to *Debates Parlamentares* in the online portal of the Portuguese Parliament, the *1976 Constitution* is⁹¹⁷ “the Portuguese Constitution, with the amendments made to it by constitutional revisions adopted in 1982, 1989, 1992 and 1997”.⁹¹⁸ Concerning the principle of freedom of religion future constitutional revisions must be limited according to Article 290 of the *1976 Constitution*,⁹¹⁹ “Article 290, (Limits on matters of revision)”.⁹²⁰ Consequently, the *1982 Constitutional Revision* determines the separation between **Churches** [my emphasis] in plural and State⁹²¹ “Constitutional revisions shall respect: ... b) the separation between the Churches and State”.⁹²² There was the need to resolve various problems as a result of poor Constitutional legislation. Essentially, those problems consisted of: the existence and strength of the Council of Revolution; the need to suspend the control of the military over the state apparatus; and, the handing over of the Government to civilian democratically elected politicians. As informed by the portal of the Portuguese National Assembly,

The Constitution of the Portuguese Republic that was passed on 2 April 1976 gave the Assembly of the Republic the power to revise the Constitution... This prerogative was exercised for the first time in a long process of revising the initial text (from 30 April 1981 to 30 September 1982).⁹²³

The portal of the Portuguese National Assembly also states that the original 1976 Constitutional text “Reflected political and ideological options originating from the revolutionary period and followed the break with the previous authoritarian regime”.⁹²⁴ Additionally, the *1976 Constitution* “Continued a transition to socialism based on the

917 Original text in Portuguese: “continua a ser esta a Constituição portuguesa, com as alterações que lhe foram introduzidas pelas Leis de revisão constitucional aprovadas em 1982, 1989, 1992 e 1997”.

918 *Debates Parlamentares*, (Information: Direcção de Serviços de Documentação e Informação – Catálogos Gerais. Parte IV – Garantia e Revisão Constitucional. Assembleia da República. Palácio de S. Bento. Lisboa. [Portugal]. <http://debates.parlamento.pt/>. Accessed on 22 January, 2014), p. 1.

919 Original text in Portuguese: “Artigo 290º, (Limites materiais da revisão)”.

920 *Debates Parlamentares*, Op. cit.

921 Original text in Portuguese: “As leis de revisão constitucional terão de respeitar: ... b) a separação das Igrejas e do Estado”.

922 *Primeira Revisão da Constituição*, Op. cit., p. 3205.

923 *Constitutional Revisions*, (Information: AR Assembleia da República. Palácio de S. Bento, Lisboa, Portugal. <http://www.en.parlamento.pt/>. Accessed on 24 February, 2014).

924 Ibid.

nationalization of the main means of production and the continued participation of the Armed Forces Movement in the exercise of political power, via the Council of Revolution”.⁹²⁵ Consequently, the *1982 Constitutional Revision* began the process of resolving legislative confusion,

The 1982 Constitutional Revision sought to reduce the ideological content of the Constitution, make the economic system more flexible and redefined the organizational structures through which political power was exercised. The Council of the Revolution was abolished and the Constitutional court created.⁹²⁶

Varol states that the result of the *1982 Constitutional Revision* was that: “The Council of Revolution was replaced by a civilian body [which was] the Council of State and the Constitutional Court’. The amendments also established a legal framework for democratic civilian control of the military”.⁹²⁷ As Varol points out, “Following the amendments, Portugal has remained not simply a democracy, but a relatively high-quality democracy”.⁹²⁸ The *1982 Constitutional Revision* was published in the Government Gazette (*Diário da República*) on 30 September, 1982.⁹²⁹ A brief analysis of the *1982 Constitutional Revision* follows in order to verify how the principle of freedom of religion was treated.

3.2.1.2 Brief analysis of the 1982 Constitutional Revision related with the principle of religious freedom

The *1982 Constitutional Revision* constituted a step forward in the legal framework concerned with religious freedom. Therefore, a brief Constitutional analysis is required to inform the discussion of this thesis to understand how the religious freedom principle was dealt with as well as the impact of the *1982 Constitutional Revision* on the normalization of the country’s politics.

Two fundamental guidelines of the *1976 Constitution* were revised in 1982. The first was to substitute the expression⁹³⁰ “Democratic State”⁹³¹ by the following expression,⁹³² “A

⁹²⁵ Ibid.

⁹²⁶ Ibid.

⁹²⁷ Varol, Ozan O., *The Democratic Coup d’État: The Portuguese Coup of 1974 – Substantive Entrenchment*, Op. Cit, p. 339.

⁹²⁸ Ibid.

⁹²⁹ *Lei Constitucional n° 1/82: Primeira revisão da Constituição*, (Legislation: Diário da República, I Série – Número 227. Diário da República Electrónico. Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda, SA. Lisboa. [Portugal]. 1997-2013. <http://dre.pt/>. Accessed on 18 February, 2014), p. 3135.

⁹³⁰ Original text in Portuguese: “Estado democrático”.

State of democratic rule of law”,⁹³³ (Article 2, paragraph 2). The second Constitutional guideline to be amended was the following,⁹³⁴ “The expression ‘creating conditions for the democratic exercise of power by the working classes’ ... is replaced by ‘achieving economic, social and cultural democracy and the deepening of participatory democracy’”,⁹³⁵ (Article 2, paragraph 3).

A brief analysis of the *1982 Constitutional Revision* demonstrates that Portugal was converted into⁹³⁶ “A State of democratic rule of law ... governed by ... principles ... [of] respect for human rights”.⁹³⁷ However, the *1982 Constitutional Revision* did not change the primary aim of the *1976 Constitution* which was to guide the transitional process for socialism with a Marxist connotation,⁹³⁸ “The Portuguese Republic is a democratic rule of law ... to ensure ... the transition to socialism” (Article 2).⁹³⁹ Regarding the principle of religion Article 13, paragraph 2 of the new Constitutional text,⁹⁴⁰ “No one shall be privileged, favoured, prejudiced, deprived of any right or exempted from any duty on the basis of ... religion”.⁹⁴¹ Concerning freedom of expression the revisited Constitutional text states in Article 37, paragraph 1 that,⁹⁴² “Everyone has the right to freely express and publicize his or her thoughts”.⁹⁴³ Freedom of conscience, religion and worship was revised in the Constitutional text which Article 41, paragraph 1 states,⁹⁴⁴ “Freedom of conscience, religion and worship is inviolable”.⁹⁴⁵

931 *Primeira Revisão Constitucional*, (Legislation: Diário da República. I Série – Número 227. 30 de Setembro de 1982. Diário da República Electrónico. Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda, SA. Lisboa. [Portugal]. <http://dre.pt/>. Accessed on 22 January, 2014), p. 3135.

932 Original text in Portuguese: “Estado de direito democrático”.

933 *Primeira Revisão Constitucional*, Op. cit.

934 Original text in Portuguese: “A expressão ‘criação de condições para o exercício democrático do poder pelas classes trabalhadoras’ ... é substituída pela expressão ‘realização da democracia económica, social e cultural e o aprofundamento da democracia participativa’”.

935 *Primeira Revisão Constitucional*, Op. cit.

936 Original text in Portuguese: “(Artigo 2º, nº 2), Estado de direito democrático”.

937 *Primeira Revisão Constitucional*, Op. cit.

938 Original text in Portuguese: “(Artigo 2º), A República Portuguesa é um Estado de direito democrático ... que tem por objetivo assegurar a transição para o socialismo”.

939 *Primeira Revisão Constitucional*, Op. cit., p. 3168.

940 Original text in Portuguese: “(Artigo 13º, nº 2), Ninguém pode ser privilegiado, beneficiado, prejudicado, privado de qualquer direito ou isento de qualquer dever em razão de ... religião”.

941 *Primeira Revisão Constitucional*, Op. cit.

942 Original text in Portuguese: “(Artigo 37º, nº 1), Todos têm o direito de exprimir e divulgar livremente o seu pensamento”.

943 *Primeira Revisão Constitucional*, Op. cit., p. 3173.

944 Original text in Portuguese: “(Artigo 41º, nº 1), A liberdade de consciência, de religião e de culto é inviolável”.

945 *Primeira Revisão Constitucional*, Op. cit.

Nonetheless, discrimination persisted in the *1982 Constitutional Revision* related to non-Roman Catholic religious bodies who were supposed to organize themselves as associations instead of churches according to Article 46, paragraph 1,⁹⁴⁶ and “Citizens have the right ... to form associations”.⁹⁴⁷ Another significant change in the *1982 Constitutional Revision* related to this study concerns the relationship between religious entities and the state. In addition, a change was also made in the *1982 Constitutional Revision* in which the new paragraph 3 of Article 41 states,⁹⁴⁸ “No one can be questioned by any authority about their religious beliefs or practice”.⁹⁴⁹ The following paragraph 4 was included,⁹⁵⁰ “With the addition of the expression 'other' before the words 'religious confessions’”.⁹⁵¹ The Constitutional amendments published in 1982 resulted in a direct impact by normalising national politics.

The normalisation of Portuguese politics was essential in order to prepare the country for its future integration as a member state of the EEC of which the *1982 Constitutional Revision* became the legislative base. From 1976 to the adoption of the new *1982 Constitutional Revision* the Constitutional Governments as well as the political parties who supported the vision of Portugal as a member state of the EEC “assumed more and more influence”⁹⁵² (Chilcote). With the national democratic vision in place and with the support of the majority in Parliament, an alliance was made “With the result that by 1982 the *Constitution* had been revised”⁹⁵³ because the country determined to follow the European type of democracy. Consequently, Chilcote refers to the revision of the *1976 Constitution*,

To diminish the authority of the military and eliminate reference to a transition to socialism, the democratic powers of the working classes, and the transformation into a classless society, and to eliminate the Revolutionary Council and any reference to the MFA.⁹⁵⁴

As Kenneth Maxwell asserts in *Portugal in the 1980's - Dilemmas of Democratic Consolidation* the *1976 Constitution* “Reflected much more the circumstances which

946 Original text in Portuguese: “(Artigo 46º, nº 1), Os cidadãos têm o direito de ... constituir associações”.

947 *Primeira Revisão Constitucional*, Op. cit.

948 Original text in Portuguese: “Ninguém pode ser perguntado por qualquer autoridade acerca das suas convicções ou prática religiosa”.

949 *Primeira Revisão Constitucional*, Op. cit., p. 3140.

950 Original text in Portuguese: “com o aditamento de expressão ‘outras’ antes da expressão ‘confissões religiosas’”.

951 *Primeira Revisão Constitucional*, Op. cit.

952 Chilcote, Ronald H., *The Portuguese Revolution: State and Class in the Transition to Democracy*, Op. cit., p. 236.

953 *Ibid.*, p. 236.

954 Chilcote, Ronald H., *The Portuguese Revolution: State and Class in the Transition to Democracy*, Op. cit.

surrounded its writing”.⁹⁵⁵ These circumstances were “The period of leftist triumph, a pact imposed on the political parties by the ... MFA ... [and,] massive mobilizations”.⁹⁵⁶ Maxwell adds, “Incorporated in the constitutional text were provisos which made the expropriations and nationalizations of March 1975 inviolate and declared Portugal engaged in a ‘transition toward socialism’”.⁹⁵⁷ However, in spite of the Constitutional rhetoric being conflicting and confused its practical impact on normalizing Portuguese politics was immense as Maxwell points out, “In practice ... the *1976 Constitution*, despite its rhetoric, functioned *politically* in a way similar to other Western systems”.⁹⁵⁸ The *1982 Constitutional Revision* was meaningful in order to define the path towards the European model of democracy where the principle of religious freedom was respected.

The transition from an authoritarian regime to a European type of democracy had its difficulties that had to be resolved. The previous historical of the redefinition of the regime 1974-1976 had been unstable, “Since 1974 there have been 16 governments”.⁹⁵⁹ Nevertheless, according to Maxwell during the transitional period for democratic normalization (1976-1985) the future of democracy was still uncertain, “As Portugal enters the second decade as a democracy ... the nation is again facing a crisis, not yet serious enough to threaten democracy but sufficiently acute to cause concern about democracy’s future”,⁹⁶⁰ (Maxwell). Moreover, the *1982 Constitutional revision* did not change all the ideological guidelines prescribed in Title II of Part IV of the *1976 Constitution* and Portugal continued to be a Republic developing towards socialism and a classless society with the power held by the working classes. Apart from the Constitutional text, other legislation remained in place regarding religion.

3.2.1.3 Considerations on other legislation related to religion

In a traditional Roman Catholic country not accustomed to the Constitutional and democratic rule of law, the Portuguese legal system had difficulty ensuring religious freedom, because it was entangled in contradictory legislation including the Civil Code, Government Decrees and Ordinances by Ministers and Secretaries of State. At this stage

955 Maxwell, Kenneth, *Portugal in the 1980's: Dilemmas of Democratic Consolidation*, (Greenwood Press, Inc., Westport, Connecticut. United States of America. 1986), pp. 5-6.

956 Ibid.

957 Ibid.

958 Ibid., p. 6.

959 Ibid.

960 Ibid., p. 10.

in Portuguese history apart from the *1976 Constitution* and its *Revision* in 1982 there was legislation related to religion. For general purposes, the *1971 Religious Freedom Act* remained in force and was only abolished in 2001 when it was replaced by Law No. 16/2001 (*Lei n° 16/2001*), as Jorge Miranda points out.⁹⁶¹ With regards to the registration of religious entities, the *Constitution* required amendment. The Decree-Law No. 425/83 of 6 December, 1983 (*Decreto-Lei n° 425/83 de 6 de Dezembro*)⁹⁶² reviewed previous legislation,⁹⁶³ “It reviews legislation concerning the registry of religious institutes at the National Registry of Legal Persons”.⁹⁶⁴ However, the Decree-Law No. 425/83 of 6 December, 1983 maintained that the only religious entity registered as a Christian church was the Roman Catholic Church; religious bodies of other faiths continued being registered as⁹⁶⁵ “Religious associations”.⁹⁶⁶

When considering the enrolment of all religious ministers for benefits from the National Welfare System (which was mentioned in Chapter One), Law No. 291/74 of 23 April, 1974 (*Portaria n° 291/74, 23 de Abril*), was published just two days prior to the *coup d'état* of 25 April, 1974⁹⁶⁷ although it was not applied in the new regime. Instead, Law No. 291/74 of 23 April, 1974 (*Portaria n° 291/74, 23 de Abril*) was converted into Decree-Law No. 5/83 of 31 January 1983 (*Decreto Regulamentar n° 5/83 de 31 de Janeiro de 1983* of 31 January, 1983),⁹⁶⁸ permitting all religious ministers of non-Roman Catholic persuasion to benefit from the National Welfare System. In its Article 1 the *Decree* orders all religious persuasions to register with the National Welfare System as well as all religious personnel involved with them,⁹⁶⁹

The beneficiaries [of the National Welfare System] are members of secular and religious clergy of the [Roman] Catholic Church and the ministers of other churches ... as well as

961 Miranda, Jorge, *Estado, Liberdade Religiosa e Laicidade*, (Article: Gaudium Sciendi, Número 4, Julho 2013. Sociedade Científica. Universidade Católica Portuguesa. Lisboa, Portugal), p. 39.

962 *Decreto-Lei 425/83 de 6 de Dezembro*, (Legislation: ALFA. DRE.TRETAS.ORG, Ministério da Justiça. Diário da República – 1ª Série, n° 280, de 06.12.1983. <http://dre.tretas.org/>. Accessed on 18 February, 2014), p. 3975.

963 Original text in Portuguese: “Revê a legislação dos institutos do Registo Nacional das Pessoas Coletivas”.

964 *Ratificação n° 62/III – Decreto-Lei n° 425/83. De 6 de Dezembro*, (Legislation: Diário da Assembleia da República, II Série – Número 69, Sexta-feira, 6 de Janeiro de 1984. <http://debates.parlamento.pt:9091/>. Accessed on 18 February, 2014), p. 1894.

965 Original text in Portuguese: “Associações religiosas”.

966 Ratado, Raquel, *Religião*, (Information: Retrato Social de Portugal. <https://sites.google.com/>. Accessed on 20 October, 2013).

967 *Portaria n° 291/74 (Rectificações)*, Op. cit.

968 *Decreto Regulamentar n.° 5/83 (Rectificações) de 31 de Janeiro*, Op. cit.

969 Original text in Portuguese: “Como beneficiários, os membros do clero secular e Religiosa da Igreja Católica e os ministros das outras igrejas... Como contribuintes, as dioceses e os institutos religiosos da Igreja Católica, bem como as demais associações ou confissões religiosas”.

dioceses and religious institutes of the Catholic Church and of other religious denominations or associations.⁹⁷⁰

Initially, the new *Act* appeared to grant benefits from the National Welfare System to all Portuguese religious ministers,⁹⁷¹

Ordinance No. 291/74 of 23 April, proceeded to the framework of diocesan clergy on social security at the same time it opened the possibility, by ministerial order, to handle the integration of the regular clergy and ministers of religious confessions not [Roman] Catholic since legally recognized.⁹⁷²

However, a short historical narrative is given in the preamble to the Decree-Law No. 5/83 of 31 January 1983 which states that the Secretary of State discriminated against non-Roman Catholic clergy by them and including only regular Roman Catholic clerics in Social Security:⁹⁷³

By order of the Secretary of State for Social Security on April 13, 1976 came to materialize the planned integration of the regular clergy in social security, but the same was not true with regards to the ministers of the churches and associations of non-[Roman] Catholic faiths recognized under Portuguese law.⁹⁷⁴

The issue of respecting the rights of the non-Roman Catholic ministers concerning grants from the National Welfare System was the culmination of legislative process initiated by Law No. 291/74 of 23 April, 1974 (*Portaria nº 291/74, 23 de Abril*). After the *coup d'état* a superficial revision was made by Order of the Secretary of State for Social Security issued on 13 April, 1976 (*Despacho do Secretário de Estado da Segurança Social de 13 de Abril de 1976*).⁹⁷⁵ However, the legislative process which culminated with the Decree-Law No. 5/83 of 31 January 1983 (*Decreto Regulamentar nº 5/83 de 31 de Janeiro*) was essentially a revision of the previous *Acts* that gave even more benefits to the Roman Catholics and none to non-Roman Catholics. The Portuguese Evangelical

970 *Decreto Regulamentar nº 5/83 de 31 de Janeiro*, (Legislation: Diário da República. I Série – Nº 25. Secretaria de Estado da Segurança Social. <http://www.dre.pt/>. Accessed on 18 February, 2014), p. 294.

971 Original text in Portuguese: “A Portaria nº 291/74 de 23 de Abril, procedeu ao enquadramento de clero diocesano na segurança social, ao mesmo tempo que abriu a possibilidade de, por despacho ministerial, vir a processar-se a integração do clero regular e dos ministros de confissões religiosas não católicas desde que legalmente reconhecidas”.

972 *Decreto Regulamentar nº 5/83 de 31 de Janeiro*, Op. cit., pp.293- 294.

973 Original text in Portuguese: “A Portaria nº 291/74 de 23 de Abril, procedeu ao enquadramento de clero diocesano na segurança social, ao mesmo tempo que abriu a possibilidade de, por despacho ministerial, vir a processar-se a integração do clero regular e dos ministros de confissões religiosas não católicas desde que legalmente reconhecidas. Por despacho do Secretário de Estado da Segurança Social de 13 de Abril de 1976 veio a concretizar-se a prevista integração do clero regular na segurança social, mas o mesmo não aconteceu no que respeita aos ministros das igrejas, associações ou confissões religiosas não católicas reconhecidas nos termos da lei portuguesa”.

974 *Decreto Regulamentar nº 5/83 de 31 de Janeiro*, Op. cit.

975 Ibid.

Alliance (Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa – AEP) is mentioned⁹⁷⁶ in the Decree-Law No. 5/83 of 31 January 1983 (*Decreto Regulamentar nº 5/83 de 31 de Janeiro*) as part of the religious organisations consulted about the *Decree* but to no avail for its religious ministers. During the transition for democratic normalisation (1976-1985) the rights of the non-Roman Catholics were not respected yet by the new policy makers and democratic authorities as freedom of religion, expression and association were becoming part of democracy.

3.2.2 DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM OF RELIGION, EXPRESSION AND ASSOCIATION

During the transitional period for democratic normalization (1976-1986) religious freedom, freedom of expressions and freedom of association principles increasingly became part of democracy. An in-depth study scrutiny of how these three principles of human rights continued to be established in the Portuguese democracy is imperative to inform this thesis.

The process by which the Portuguese democracy developed the right to religious freedom involves how democracy gave rise to religious liberty; however, despite the religious freedom, Protestants/Evangelicals faced numerous difficulties to obtain that right. Secularism (*laicidade*) settled in Portuguese politics during the historical period of transition to democratic normalisation (1976-1985). Ricardo Alves a member of the Association Republic and Secularism (Associação República e Laicidade) delivered a speech in Rome on 26 November, 2010 entitled *Secularism and Secularization in Portugal*. “Organized religion has become part of the civil fabric and nothing more, the State does not know the religion of individual citizens”,⁹⁷⁷ which is a problem because “Portugal can be defined as a society that still sees itself as [Roman] Catholic”.⁹⁷⁸ In addition, Alves states,

It is fair to say that all governments since 1974 have been very cautious about doing anything that might upset the [Roman] Catholic Church... Portugal ... is a Republic with a secular *Constitution* that is not honoured by the political class.⁹⁷⁹

⁹⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 294.

⁹⁷⁷ Alves, Ricardo, *Secularism and Secularization in Portugal*, (Speech: given in Rome on 26 November, 2010. Representing Associação República e Laicidade. <http://www.laicidade.org/>. Accessed on 18 February, 2014), p. 2.

⁹⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 8.

⁹⁷⁹ Ibid., pp. 15-16.

According to a report entitled *Portugal – Beliefs* by Gerralynn Owen of San Diego State University even after the *1976 Constitution*

The [Roman Catholic] church continues to have a special place in Portugal, but for the most part it has been disestablished. Other religions are now free to organize and practice their beliefs. Traditional Roman Catholicism flourished while Portugal was overwhelmingly poor, rural, and illiterate, but as the country became more urban, literate, and secular, the practice of religion declined.⁹⁸⁰

Protestants/Evangelicals faced difficulties for their affirmation and growth in Portuguese society. Information is sparse pertaining to the Protestants/Evangelicals experiences of their liberty during the period of transition to democratic normalisation (1976-1985). As Gerald C. Ericson points out in *Nascidos Para Crescer* the social environment Protestants/Evangelicals faced after the 1974 *coup* was a scenario of political conflict which impeded their growth in Portugal,⁹⁸¹

The Portuguese Evangelical Church is comparable to a candle light in the vastness of a hostile environment covered with darkness, but the flame is no longer shaky and wobbly as 150 years ago, when the first missionaries arrived.⁹⁸²

“The Evangelical Church begins to emerge slowly from the situation of semi-secrecy that was enforced for decades. New denominations and Bible Schools begin to proliferate”,⁹⁸³ (Ericson),⁹⁸⁴ which faced difficulties related to freedom of expression.

Freedom of expression was one of the liberties achieved by the Revolution of the Carnations in 1974 but the principle gained ground in stages according to Gustavo Cardoso in *Portugal: uma sociedade em transição para a sociedade de rede*,⁹⁸⁵ “In the period between 1974 and 1979 it is possible to identify three of the defining media moments towards the system as it is known today”.⁹⁸⁶ Cardoso defines those three stages as the following,

980 Owen, Gerralynn, *Portugal - Beliefs*, (Article: Crime and Society – a comparative criminology tour of the world. ROHAN Academic Computing. San Diego State University. San Diego, California. [USA]. <http://www-rohan.sdsu.edu/>. Accessed on 19 February, 2014), pp. 7-8.

981 Original text in Portuguese: “Atualmente, a Igreja Evangélica Portuguesa é comparável a uma luz de vela na vastidão de um ambiente hostil recoberto de trevas, mas a chama já não é tão trémula e vacilante como há 150 anos atrás, quando os primeiros missionários chegaram”.

982 Ericson, Gerald C., *Nascidos Para Crescer*, Op. cit., p. 56.

983 Ibid., p. 62.

984 Original text in Portuguese: “A Igreja Evangélica começa a emergir lentamente da situação de semiclandestinidade a que se viria forçada ao longo de décadas. Novas denominações e escolas de treinamento bíblico começam a proliferar”.

985 Original text in Portugal: “No período compreendido entre 1974 e 1979 podemos identificar três momentos definidores do sistema da média que hoje conhecemos”.

986 Cardoso, Gustavo, *Portugal: uma sociedade em transição para a sociedade de rede*, (Article: CIES-IUL – Instituto Universitário de Lisboa, Edifício ISCTE, Lisboa. [Portugal]. <http://www.cies.iscte.pt/>. Accessed on 19 February, 2014), p. 2.

The release that occurs immediately after the April 25, with the end of censorship and the growing prevalence of complete freedom of expression, the nationalization running through 1975 (which particularly affects the press and television), and the legislative regulation in 1979 which comes in many ways to define the legal framework of general media.⁹⁸⁷ (Loose translation from Portuguese).

The 1976 Constitution granted freedom of expression and of information in its Article 37 and freedom of the press in Article 38,⁹⁸⁸ but the principle had to be addressed by future Constitutional revisions according to an article entitled *Liberdade de Expressão em Portugal* which points out that⁹⁸⁹ “Revisions [after the 1976 Constitution] extended freedom of expression to all media...but the spectre of censorship still hangs occasionally”.⁹⁹⁰ It was necessary to train new journalists properly on how to handle information within a secularised and democratic society. Manuel Pinto and Helena Sousa state in *Journalism Education at Universities and Journalism Schools in Portugal* “In 1979, five years after the Revolution, a university Communication Sciences Programme which was the first in the country [was established]”.⁹⁹¹ As a consequence of the legal uncertainty regarding what to do with liberty Pinto and Sousa point out that, “By [the] mid-1980’s there were so many illegal radio stations operating that the government could no longer ignore the reality”.⁹⁹²

For many decades the Roman Catholic Church relied on her own powerful Renaissance Radio (Rádio Renascença) with national coverage and State owned media that continued to provide coverage of Roman Catholic events. However, this was not the case with the Evangelicals according to Pastor Luís Reis in *Interview 18* (See Interviews Conducted),⁹⁹³ “Unfortunately, the Portuguese media paid little attention to the

987 Ibid.

988 [?], *Galeria Virtual da Censura*, (Information: Museu Nacional da Imprensa. Porto. [Portugal]. <http://www.museudaimprensa.pt/>. Accessed on 27 February, 2014).

989 Original Text in Portuguese: “Revisões posteriores [da Constituição de 1976] alargaram a liberdade de expressão para todos os meios de comunicação ... mas o espetro da censura ainda paira ocasionalmente”.

990 [?], *A Liberdade de Expressão em Portugal*, (Information: dosomething.pt. TESE – Associação Para o Desenvolvimento. Lisboa. Portugal. <http://www.dosomething.pt/>. Accessed on 19 February, 2014).

991 Pinto, Manuel, and Helena Sousa, *Journalism Education at Universities and Journalism Schools in Portugal*, (Article: Frohlich, Romy and Christina Holtz-Bacha Eds., *Journalism Education in Europe and North America*, an International Comparison, Hampton Press (Forthcoming). <http://bocc.ubi.pt/>. Accessed on 19 February, 2014. The authors are linked with the University of Minho in Portugal. [?]), p. 9.

992 Ibid., p. 4.

993 Original text in Portuguese: “Infelizmente, a comunicação social portuguesa continua a dar pouca atenção aos evangélicos”.

Evangelicals”.⁹⁹⁴ The other human right and democratic principle developing during the transition phase for democratic normalisation (1976-1985) was freedom of association.

Freedom of association for non-Roman Catholic religious entities was also difficult to implement because they continued to be regarded as religious associations instead of churches as Raquel Ratado states in *Religião*,⁹⁹⁵ “The state continues to ignore the existence of all other religions in Portugal... Only to the [Roman] Catholic Church is recognized the rights... The other denominations in the country were ignored and...resorted to the figure of a private association”.⁹⁹⁶ While non-Catholic religious bodies continued their legal and social assertiveness new policies promoted freedom of religion in Portugal.

3.2.3 NEW POLICIES PROMOTING RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

Portuguese policies increasingly tended to adjust towards the European model of democracy which respects religious freedom as a fundamental human right according to the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* by the United Nations as well as *The European Convention on Human Rights*⁹⁹⁷ by the Council of Europe of which all EEC member states are also members. By following the European type of democracy Portugal became increasingly normalized according to international legislation required for EEC’s integration as a member state, which included religious liberty.

The democratization of the country was a consequence of the 25 April, 1974 Revolution which altered the social physiognomy and modernized Portugal particularly through education according to an article entitled *Metamorfose: 25 de Abril – os sindicatos, a mobilização, a normalização*,⁹⁹⁸ “It was a real revolution”.⁹⁹⁹ It was a process of social change and affirmation of the lower class,¹⁰⁰⁰ “A time to...link...education and

994 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 18 – with Rev Luís Reis (2)*, (Received via email on 14 February, 2014, at 04:11), p. 3.

995 Original text in Portuguese: “O Estado continua a ignorar de todo a existência de outras confissões religiosas em Portugal ... Só à Igreja Católica é reconhecido o direito ... As outras confissões existentes no país eram ignoradas e ... recorreram à figura da associação de direito privado”.

996 Ratado, Raquel, *Religião*, Op. cit.

997 *The European Convention on Human Rights – and its five protocols*, Op. cit.

998 Original text in Portuguese: “Foi uma verdadeira revolução”.

999 [?], *Metamorfose: 25 de Abril – os sindicatos, a mobilização, a normalização*, (Information: SPN30 – Sindicato dos Professores do Norte, 30º aniversário. Porto. [Portugal]. <http://www.spn.pt/>. Accessed on 28 February, 2014), p. iv.

1000 Original text in Portuguese: “... que quer assumir as rédeas do seu destino. Um tempo em que se assume a educação para e pela democracia, recorrendo à participação contextualizada num registo emancipador”.

democracy by participating in the contextualized emancipation”.¹⁰⁰¹ The Government attempted to provide access to education to all members of the population for the first time in Portuguese history by allowing values to be moulded by scientific modernity and the democratic culture, along with an¹⁰⁰² “Ideological pluralism of democratic inspiration”.¹⁰⁰³

However, Portugal also faced the international economic crisis and President Eanes dissolved the Parliament and called for elections in December 1979, which, according to an article entitled *Instabilidade Socioeconómica pós-25 de abril* resulted in¹⁰⁰⁴ “transformation”.¹⁰⁰⁵ The economic crises continued and the President called for new elections in April 1983 which brought up a joint government between the PS and the PSD, known as the Central Block (Bloco Central).¹⁰⁰⁶ The International Monetary Fund helped because of the famine and high unemployment rate,¹⁰⁰⁷ “The situation was boldly denounced by the Bishop of Porto, one of the regions where the unemployment problem was more serious”.¹⁰⁰⁸ Therefore,¹⁰⁰⁹

In political terms, the entire period between 1976 and 1986 can be characterized, both in practice and in official discourse, as the progressive elimination of the ‘conquests of the Revolution’ (as stated by the Communist Party) or ... the ‘time to put socialism in the drawer’.¹⁰¹⁰

Europe was characterised by economic growth, culture, peace, democracy, equality, development, well-being and wealth but also religious freedom, a model increasingly occupying the imagination of the Portuguese. The conditions required by the EEC for Portugal to become a member state were welcomed and applied, so, as Augusto Mateus states in *25 Anos de Portugal Europeu: A economia portuguesa, a sociedade e os fundos*

1001 [?], *Metamorfose: 25 de Abril – os sindicatos, a mobilização, a normalização*, Op. cit.

1002 Original text in Portuguese: “pluralismo ideológico de inspiração democrática”.

1003 [?], *Metamorfose: 25 de Abril – os sindicatos, a mobilização, a normalização*, Op. cit.

1004 Original text in Portuguese: “transformações”.

1005 *Instabilidade Socioeconómica pós-25 de abril*, (Dictionary: Infopédia – Enciclopédia e Dicionários Porto Editora. História, Ciências Sociais e Humanas. Porto Editora, Lda. Porto, Portugal. <http://www.infopedia.pt/>. Accessed on 28 February, 2014).

1006 Ibid.

1007 Original text in Portugal: “A situação foi corajosamente denunciada pelo bispo de Setúbal, uma das regiões onde o problema do desemprego era mais grave”.

1008 *Instabilidade Socioeconómica pós-25 de abril*, Op. cit.

1009 Original text in Portuguese: “Em termos políticos, todo o período entre 1976 e 1986 pode ser caracterizado, tanto na prática como no discurso oficial, pela progressiva eliminação das ‘conquistas da Revolução’ (como afirmava o Partido Comunista) ou ... ‘meter o socialismo na gaveta’”.

1010 *Instabilidade Socioeconómica pós-25 de abril*, Op. cit.

estruturais,¹⁰¹¹ “A new political, economic and cultural horizon took the work of historic dimension”.¹⁰¹² In 1976 Portugal adhered to the European Cultural Convention as well as to the Council of Europe,¹⁰¹³ which was the first¹⁰¹⁴ “Warranty certificate”¹⁰¹⁵ of the democratic stabilization of the post-revolutionary regime. The Council of Europe’s membership implied the adhesion to the *European Convention on Human Rights* which had to be adopted by the Portuguese authorities, as Fernanda Maria Pinto claims in *A Integração de Portugal nas Comunidades Europeias*,¹⁰¹⁶ “The inclusion of Portugal in the Council of Europe represented a type of certification (passing through the ‘filter of credibility’) moral and legal, an essential steps to possible ways of closer integration”.¹⁰¹⁷

The negotiation process for the Portuguese integration as a member state of the EEC was slow because the EEC wished to¹⁰¹⁸ “Make sure that the Portuguese democratic institutions worked well on a regular basis”,¹⁰¹⁹ precisely because Portugal faced major economic challenges the country embraced the European and signed the *Treaty of Adhesion*. According to Pinto,¹⁰²⁰ “The signing of the *Treaty of Adhesion* with the EEC was a dividing line between the old country and new country...that separates past and future”.¹⁰²¹ Portugal was increasingly transformed by the impact of the requirements to become a member state of the EEC including the alteration of the traditional Roman Catholic social nature.

1011 Original text in Portuguese: “Um novo horizonte político, económico e cultural tomava a dimensão de obra histórica”.

1012 Mateus, Augusto, Ed., *25 Anos de Portugal Europeu: A economia, a sociedade e os fundos estruturais*, (Article: Fundação Francisco Manuel dos Santos, Lisboa, [Portugal]. <http://www.ffms.pt/>. Accessed on 17 March, 2014), p. 7.

1013 Pinto, Fernanda Maria, *A Integração de Portugal nas Comunidades Europeias*, (Article: FLUC - Faculdade de Letras, Universidade de Coimbra. Estudo Geral, Repositório Digital. Coimbra. Portugal. 2011. <https://estudogeral.sib.uc.pt/>. Accessed on 17 March, 2014), p. 38.

1014 Original text in Portuguese: “certificado de garantia”.

1015 Pinto, Fernanda Maria, *A Integração de Portugal nas Comunidades Europeias*, Op. cit.

1016 Original text in Portuguese: “A inclusão de Portugal no Conselho da Europa representou uma espécie de certificação (passagem pelo ‘filtro de credibilidade’) moral e jurídica, etapa indispensável para possíveis formas de integração mais avançada”.

1017 Pinto, Fernanda Maria, *A Integração de Portugal nas Comunidades Europeias*, Op. cit.

1018 Original text in Portuguese: “certificar-se de que as instituições democráticas portuguesas funcionavam e funcionariam de forma regular”.

1019 Pinto, Fernanda Maria, *A Integração de Portugal nas Comunidades Europeias*, Op. cit., p. 40.

1020 Original text in Portuguese: “A assinatura do tratado de adesão com a CEE apresenta-se assim como uma linha divisória que separa o país velho do país novo ... que separa o passado e o futuro”.

1021 Pinto, Fernanda Maria, *A Integração de Portugal nas Comunidades Europeias*, Op. cit., p. 47.

3.3 THE RELIGIOUS TRANSFORMATION OF THE PORTUGUESE NATION

The traditional religious affiliation in Portuguese culture relaxed due to the growing adoption of legislation concerned with human rights and the respect for other religious convictions from 1976 to 1985. Therefore, the following is an examination of the transformation of the religious nature of the Portuguese people, including how under the global influence of various religious trends they were enlightened, thus resulting in the proliferation of non-Roman Catholic religious entities being established in the country. Favourable social and political conditions paved the way for denominational proliferation.

3.3.1 FAVOURABLE CONDITIONS FOR RELIGIOUS TRANSFORMATION OF THE PORTUGUESE NATION

Social and political conditions became favourable for the transformation of the Portuguese nation, gradually altering the traditional paradigms of religion in Portugal. The state was progressively becoming secular creating those promising conditions for the Portuguese to change their cultural views concerning religious matters relegating it to the private and personal sphere. The process of normalization of democratic institutions from 1976 to 1985 was steadily implemented by the Constitutional Governments resulting in a progressive democratic normality as Carlos Fontes states in *Mário Soares (1976-1978)*,¹⁰²² “A period of progressive democratic normality.”¹⁰²³ Apart from the political intervention to create those favourable conditions, the Roman Catholic Church as well as the emigrants contributed to the relaxing of the Portuguese religious ties.

3.3.1.1 The Roman Catholic Church promoted social conditions for religious freedom

There were various factors conducive to favourable conditions for religious freedom in Portugal from 1976 to 1985 including the alteration of the structures of the Portuguese Roman Catholic Church as well as the official visit of Pope John Paul II to the country in 1982. According to Manuel Braga da Cruz in *A Igreja na Transição Democrática*

¹⁰²² Original text in Portuguese: “Entra-se num período de progressiva normalidade democrática”.

¹⁰²³ Fontes, Carlos, Ed., *Mário Soares (1976-1978)*, (Information: Governos de Portugal. Lusotopia.no.sapo. Filorbis Portugal. <http://lusotopia.no.sapo.pt/>. Accessed on 19 March, 2014).

Portuguesa the transition to democratic normalisation must be understood in its vast perspective from the end of the ultramarine policy to the European integration.¹⁰²⁴ That transition was profound because in just twelve years Portugal swung from a dictatorial colonial centralised system to a democratic decentralised European liberal system.¹⁰²⁵ However, the Roman Catholic Church continued to play an important role in the support of the fundamental shift of the country's policy to integrate the EEC from 1976 to 1985. Most of the population were Roman Catholic and got involved in politics helping the transitional process of normalization of democracy including bishops, as Cruz points out,¹⁰²⁶ "The bishops have not stopped and periodically they kept on drawing attention to the most serious problems, presenting guidelines to address them".¹⁰²⁷ For example, in April 1977 the Roman Catholic Bishops celebrated the 10th anniversary on the Papal Encyclical *Populorum Progressio* (Paul VI: March 26, 1967)¹⁰²⁸ on the "Development of peoples".¹⁰²⁹ Faithful to the Papal and the Second Vatican Council spirit concerning the development of peoples the Portuguese bishops stressed the need to develop Portugal according to,¹⁰³⁰

The establishment of 'a new social balance', founded on 'work, their freedom and mobility, economic and socially useful investment in justice between economic partners, ... fraternity among all Portuguese, ... [and] civic harmony, justice and spiritual and material wealth'.¹⁰³¹

In addition the Roman Catholic bishops supported the integration of Portugal in the EEC by supporting Dr Mário Soares' endeavours to apply for the Portuguese membership to the EEC, according to their 1977 document entitled Declaration on Europe (*Declaração Sobre a Europa*).¹⁰³² In 1979 the Roman Catholic Bishops published a Pastoral Letter

1024 Da Cruz, Manuel Braga, *A Igreja na Transição Democrática Portuguesa*, (Article: Repositório. Universidade Católica Portuguesa. Lisboa. [Portugal]. <http://repositorio.ucp.pt/>. Accessed on 19 March, 2014), p. 519.

1025 Ibid., p. 520.

1026 Original text in Portuguese: "Os bispos não deixaram de, periodicamente, ir chamando a atenção para os mais graves problemas, apresentando orientações para os enfrentar".

1027 Da Cruz, Manuel Braga, *A Igreja na Transição Democrática Portuguesa*, Op. cit., p. 530.

1028 In his Encyclical – *Populorum Progressio* – Pope Paul VI referred the tendency of previous Popes to find an answer to contemporary social development. There was: (1) Leo XIII's encyclical *Rerum Novarum*; (2) Pius XI's encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*; (3) Pius XII's radio message to the world; (4) and John XXIII's two encyclicals, *Mater et Magistra* and *Pacem in Terris*. And; now, (5) Paul VI *Populorum Progressio*.

1029 Pope Paul VI, *Populorum Progressio*, (Encyclical: by Pope Paul VI on the Development of Peoples. 26 March, 1967. <http://www.vatican.va/>. Accessed on 19 March, 2014), p. [1].

1030 Original text in Portuguese: "[1] o estabelecimento de 'um novo equilíbrio social'; [2] fundado no 'trabalho, na sua liberdade e mobilidade, no investimento económico e socialmente útil, na justiça entre parceiros económicos, ... na fraternidade entre todos os portugueses, ... [e] na concórdia cívica, na justiça e riqueza espiritual e material'".

1031 Da Cruz, Manuel Braga, *A Igreja na Transição Democrática Portuguesa*, Op. cit.

1032 Ibid., p. 530.

entitled Christian Perspectives on the National Reconstruction (*Perspectivas cristãs da reconstrução da vida nacional*), in which they unequivocally stated their independence from political engagement advocating the bishops' prophetic capacity,¹⁰³³ "The legitimate pluralism of political and civic options do not permit identification of the [Roman Catholic] Church to any party, to any particular regime, with no economic and social system".¹⁰³⁴

In 1980 the Portuguese Bishops demonstrated their prophetic independence by intervening in society through a *Pastoral Note*¹⁰³⁵ "Reaffirming the legitimacy of free and pluralistic option of Roman Catholics, to invite them to a conscious and active participation, and to the exercise of the rights and duty to vote freely and consciously, according to Gospel values, determined to serve the common good".¹⁰³⁶ Cruz points out, the Catholic bishops also reminded society of the need to respect the¹⁰³⁷ "electoral results".¹⁰³⁸ While the *Constitution* was being revised in 1981 the Permanent Council of the Episcopate (Conselho Permanente do Episcopado) published a *Note* in which they encouraged the law makers,¹⁰³⁹ "To pay attention to the 'unacceptable precepts' separating them from those that are worthy in the 1976 *Constitution*...which new text should be ideologically free".¹⁰⁴⁰

The role of Mary the Mother of Jesus underpins the Portuguese Roman Catholic faith which was emphasised during the visit of Pope John Paul II from 12 to 15 May, 1982 in order to strengthen the tradition of Marian worship in Portuguese society.¹⁰⁴¹ The Pope's first speech on his arrival in Lisbon as well as his subsequent speeches was used to emphasise both the historical and spiritual importance of Mary in Portugal. Additionally, the Pope reminded the Portuguese that the country of Portugal had long been dedicated

1033 Original text in Portuguese: "O legítimo pluralismo das opções políticas e cívicas não permite identificar a Igreja [Católica] com nenhum partido, com nenhum regime em particular, com nenhum sistema económico e social".

1034 Da Cruz, Manuel Braga, *A Igreja na Transição Democrática Portuguesa*, Op. cit., p. 531.

1035 Original text in Portuguese: "reafirmando a legitimidade da livre e plural opção dos católicos, para convidar à participação consciente e ativa, e ao exercício do direito e dever de votar, livre e conscientemente, de acordo com os valores do Evangelho, em quem se proponha servir o bem comum".

1036 Da Cruz, Manuel Braga, *A Igreja na Transição Democrática Portuguesa*, Op. cit., p. 532.

1037 Original text in Portuguese: "resultados das eleições".

1038 Da Cruz, Manuel Braga, *A Igreja na Transição Democrática Portuguesa*, Op. cit., p. 533.

1039 Original text in Portuguese: "Chamando a atenção para os 'preceitos inaceitáveis', ao lado de outros meritórios, existentes no texto da Constituição de 1976 ... defende-se a isenção ideológica da Constituição".

1040 Da Cruz, Manuel Braga, *A Igreja na Transição Democrática Portuguesa*, Op. cit., pp. 533-534.

1041 *Viagens apostólicas de João Paulo II*, (Information: Wikipédia – A enciclopédia livre. A Wikimedia Project, Wikimedia Foundation, Inc. San Francisco, California, United States. <http://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/>. Accessed on 19 March, 2014).

as the¹⁰⁴² “land of Holy Mary”.¹⁰⁴³ According to Agostinho França in *Portugal, terra de Santa Maria*,¹⁰⁴⁴

Marian devotion in the country gained momentum when D. Afonso Henriques placed Portugal under the protection of Our Lady. The gesture took place in the Cathedral of Lamego, on April 28, 1142, where the king and his vassals made and signed a solemn pledge and declared the kingdom 'Land of Holy Mary'.¹⁰⁴⁵

In *Portugal Terra de Santa Maria* Diogo Manuel Valente Ribas and Joel Gonçalves Sabino state that the worship of Mary was present in Portugal since the conquest of Lisbon from the Moors.¹⁰⁴⁶ Ribas and Sabino also point out that the oldest document concerning the worship to Mary was written by Bishop Raimundo Evrard on 17 October, 1320,¹⁰⁴⁷ “Establishing the worship in Portugal”.¹⁰⁴⁸ Later on 25 March, 1646 King Dom João IV proclaimed Mary the Mother of Jesus *ad eternum*¹⁰⁴⁹ “Queen and Patroness of Portugal”,¹⁰⁵⁰ and¹⁰⁵¹ “From 1646 either in ceremonies or in official acts the kings of Portugal never placed the Portuguese crown on their heads, but on a cushion beside them”.¹⁰⁵² Pope Clement X blessed the Portuguese king’s resolution in 1671.¹⁰⁵³

Therefore, Pope John Paul II’s reference to Mary in his speeches suited well to boost the Roman Catholic traditional nature of the Portuguese people. On 14 May, 1982 the Pope visited the Roman Catholic University in Lisbon and mentioned the impact of the university in a country with such a Roman Catholic strength over society,¹⁰⁵⁴ “It is an

1042 Original text in Portuguese: “Terra de Santa Maria”.

1043 João Paulo II, Papa, *Discurso de João Paulo II na Cerimónia de Boas-Vindas no Aeroporto Internacional de Portela em Lisboa*, (Speech: Discursos de João Paulo II. Quarta-feira, 12 de Maio de 1982. <http://www.clerus.org/>. Accessed on 19 March, 2014).

1044 Original text in Portuguese: “A devoção mariana ganhou impulso no país quando D. Afonso Henriques o colocou sob proteção de Nossa Senhora. O gesto aconteceu na Catedral de Lamego, no dia 28 de abril de 1142, onde o rei e seus vassalos fizeram e assinaram uma promessa solene e declararam o reino ‘Terra de Santa Maria’”.

1045 França, Pe. Agostinho, *Portugal, terra de Santa Maria*, (Information: Família Cristã, portal online da Paulus Editora. Apelação. [Portugal]. 13 May, 2013. <http://www.familiacrista.com/>. Accessed on 19 March, 2014).

1046 Ribas, Diogo Manuel Valente, and, Joel Gonçalves Sabino, *Portugal Terra de Santa Maria*, (Information: Sé Velha de Coimbra. Coimbra, [Portugal]. 4 de Dezembro de 2013. <http://sevelha-coimbra.org/>. Accessed on 20 March, 2014).

1047 Original text in Portugal: “institui o culto em Portugal”.

1048 Ribas, Diogo Manuel Valente, and, Joel Gonçalves Sabino, *Portugal Terra de Santa Maria*, Op. cit.

1049 Original text in Portugal: “Rainha e Padroeira de Portugal”.

1050 Ribas, Diogo Manuel Valente, and, Joel Gonçalves Sabino, *Portugal Terra de Santa Maria*, Op. cit.

1051 Original text in Portugal: “A partir de 1646 os reis de Portugal em solenidades e atos oficiais nunca mais colocaram a coroa na cabeça, mas sim numa almofada ao seu lado”.

1052 Ribas, Diogo Manuel Valente, and, Joel Gonçalves Sabino, *Portugal Terra de Santa Maria*, Op. cit.

1053 Ibid.

1054 Original text in Portuguese: “Era uma instituição de que se carecia, ‘num país de tradição católica e em que o Cristianismo é o clima espiritual prevalente de que se alimenta a consciência dos portugueses’ escreviam os meus Irmãos Bispos, na altura da sua inauguração, em 1967”.

institution that was missing in 'a country of Roman Catholic tradition in which Christianity is the prevailing spiritual climate that feeds the consciousness of the Portuguese'".¹⁰⁵⁵ The Pope's 1982 visit attracted the attention of the media to the issue of religious freedom in the country, which, according to Manuel Pinto in *Evento com impacto comunicacional*,¹⁰⁵⁶ "In fact, it was not only the coverage of the Pope's visit but the media also highlighted issues related to the Roman Catholic Church and more broadly concerned with other religious trends".¹⁰⁵⁷ Nevertheless, Pinto states that the Portuguese journalists were biased in their approach of religious matters depicting prejudice and ignorance,¹⁰⁵⁸ "The dominant logic continued to be guided by prejudice and quite significant ignorance".¹⁰⁵⁹

In his second speech Pope John Paul II mentioned the statue of Christ the King (Cristo Rei) erected on the southern side of River Tagus in Almada, which opens its arms to embrace the city of Lisbon.¹⁰⁶⁰ While in Fátima, the Pope was wounded by a priest but the Holy See kept it as a secret, which was revealed by Cardinal Stanislaw Dziwisz, according to a news report by the Portuguese newspaper *Público*.¹⁰⁶¹ A traditionalist Roman Catholic priest Juan Krohn came close to the Pope carrying a knife and attacked him. As Dziwisz pointed out in 2007,¹⁰⁶² "I can now reveal that the Holy Father was wounded. When we got to the room there was blood".¹⁰⁶³ The reason why this incident was only made public in 2007 is intriguing, but it was probably because Pope John Paul II and the Roman Catholic authorities thought the incident could have serious social repercussions on the already troubled Portuguese society.

1055 João Paulo II, Papa, *Discurso do Papa Aquando da Visita de João Paulo II à Universidade Católica de Lisboa*, (Speech: História da BUJPII. Biblioteca Universitária João Paulo II. Universidade Católica Portuguesa, Lisboa. [Portugal]. <http://www2.ucp.pt/>. Accessed on 21 March, 2014).

1056 Original text in Portuguese: "Na verdade, nisto de cobertura não apenas da visita do Papa mas da Igreja Católica e, mais amplamente, das religiões".

1057 Pinto, Manuel, *Evento com impacto comunicacional*, (News report: Agência Ecclesia. Agência de Notícias da Igreja católica em Portugal. Secretariado Nacional das Comunicações Sociais. Moscavide. [Portugal]. <http://www.agencia.ecclesia.pt/>. Accessed on 21 March, 2014).

1058 Original text in Portuguese: "A lógica dominante continua a ser pautada por bastante preconceito e significativa ignorância".

1059 Pinto, Manuel, *Evento com impacto comunicacional*, Op. cit.

1060 João Paulo II, Papa, *Discurso de João Paulo II ao Laicado Católico na Catedral de Lisboa*, (Speech: Discursos de João Paulo II. Quarta-feira, 12 de Maio de 1982. <http://www.clerus.org/>. Accessed on 19 March, 2014).

1061 Bianchi, Alessandro, *João Paulo II foi ferido em Fátima em 1982*, (News report: Público e Reuters (Reuters, Arquivo). 15-10-2008. <http://www.publico.pt/>. Accessed on 19 March, 2014).

1062 Original text in Portuguese: "Posso agora revelar que o Santo Padre foi ferido. Quando chegámos ao quarto [na Casa Nossa Senhora do Carmo, no santuário] havia sangue".

1063 Bianchi, Alessandro, *João Paulo II foi ferido em Fátima em 1982*, Op. cit.

Pope John Paul II's official visit to Portugal from 12 to 15 May, 1982¹⁰⁶⁴ is significant because the last time a Pope visited the country was Pope Paul VI fifteen years earlier for the 13 May, 1967 Fátima celebrations and for the 50th anniversary of the alleged apparitions of Mary. In his speech in Fátima, Pope Paul VI said,¹⁰⁶⁵ "This time can be decisive in the history of present and future generations".¹⁰⁶⁶ Consequently, John Paul II's visit meant the blessing and confirmation of the historical decisive moments in recent Portuguese history such as the 1974 *coup d'état* as well as the 1982 *Constitutional Revision*. The meetings between the Pope with President Ramalho Eanes and the Portuguese authorities served to encourage Portugal to pursue her democratic destiny. The historical impact of the phenomenon of migration also contributed to the transformation of the Portuguese society, and it is imperative that it is investigated because it is directly linked with non-Roman Catholic religious proliferation.

3.3.1.2 The immigrants' influence on religious proliferation

It is imperative that the historical impact of the phenomenon of immigration and its influence in the transformation of Portuguese society be examined as well as the change to emigrants' culture abroad, which in turn had an impact on culture when they returned to Portugal. Diverse aspects such as considerations on the effects of migration related to social behaviour and cultural modification; are part of the discussion of how the Portuguese Diaspora was transformed while abroad as well as the impact of these emigrants when they returned to Portugal. International migration has become a movement that compensates citizens for social national problems, conflicts and crisis. According to Sílvia Fernandes Ribau Cirino in *Turismo e Migrações: Impacto das Visitas a Portugal dos Emigrantes* the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) mentions the reasons why populations move to other countries,¹⁰⁶⁷

The search for a better life for himself and his family; the resource disparities between different regions and within the same region; the degradation of the environment, including loss of land farming, forests and grasslands; and, the exodus of professionals, or the migration

1064 Neves, Céu, 1982 – *João Paulo II em Portugal*, (News report: Diário de Notícias. Online portal, <http://150anos.dn.pt/>. Accessed on 1 July, 2015).

1065 Original text in Portuguese: "Esta hora pode ser decisiva para a história das gerações presentes e futuras".

1066 Tecedeiro, Helena, *A visita do Papa Paulo VI ao Santuário de Fátima*, (News report: Diário de Notícias. Online portal, <http://150anos.dn.pt/>. Accessed on 1 July, 2015).

1067 Original text in Portuguese: "[1] A busca por uma vida melhor para si e para a sua família; [2] as disparidades de recursos entre distintas regiões e no interior de uma mesma região; [3] a degradação do meio ambiente, incluindo a perda de terra de cultivo, florestas e pastos; [4] o êxodo de profissionais, ou a migração dos jovens com maior grau de formação dos países em desenvolvimento para preencher as deficiências da força de trabalho dos países industrializados".

of young people with tertiary education from developing countries to fill the deficiencies of the workforce in industrialized countries.¹⁰⁶⁸

Migration causes family integrity to degenerate into family disconnection and eventual family alienation as described by Filipa Daniela Marques and Liliana Sousa in *Emigration trajectories of former Portuguese emigrants: the construction of family integrity*. That is, family integrity may be divided into three levels: *personal*, as the person abandoned his or her family to live and work elsewhere; *familiar*, breaking the family competencies that help to create the sense of belonging; and *social*, which communicates the values.¹⁰⁶⁹ The way people relate becomes an under relational apathy and as Marques and Sousa state,¹⁰⁷⁰ “The transformation of family relationships seem to occur with continuity and shutdown, since they remain a sediment on a lifelong departure”.¹⁰⁷¹ “Emigrating remains an 'activity' in the dynamics of the Portuguese, and, the results may be relevant to future populations (Marques and Sousa)”¹⁰⁷².¹⁰⁷³ It is in this dynamic contextual activity that religious feelings were inclined to relax and to alter as part of the fundamental tradition and culture. According to Demétrio G. Papademetriou in *Gerir Melhor as Migrações Internacionais: Princípios e Perspectivas Para Maximizar os Benefícios das Migrações*,¹⁰⁷⁴ “Few social phenomena in human history have had civilizational consequences as relevant as migration ... [particularly in] the late twentieth

1068 Cirino, Sílvia Fernandes Ribau, *Turismo e Migrações: Impacto das visitas a Portugal dos Emigrantes*, (Dissertation: Masters Degree in Management presented to the Universidade de Aveiro. Campus Universitário de Santiago, Aveiro, Portugal. <http://ria.ua.pt/>. Accessed on 21 March, 2014), p. 11.

1069 Marque, Filipa Daniela, and, Liliana Sousa, *Emigration trajectories of former Portuguese emigrants: the construction of family integrity*, (Article: Revista Kairós Gerontologia, 14 (4). Faculdade de Ciências Humanas e Saúde. Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo. São Paulo (SP), Brazil. ISSN 2176-901X. Setembro 2011:03-24), p. 4.

1070 Original text in Portuguese: “A transformação das relações familiares parece ocorrer com continuidade e desligamento, pois mantém-se o afastamento sedimentado ao longo da vida”.

1071 Marque, Filipa Daniela, and, Liliana Sousa, *Emigration trajectories of former Portuguese emigrants: the construction of family integrity*, Op. cit., p. 17.

1072 Original text in Portuguese: “Emigrar continua a ser uma ‘atividade’ na dinâmica dos portugueses, pelo que os resultados poderão ser relevantes para futuras populações”.

1073 Marque, Filipa Daniela, and, Liliana Sousa, *Emigration trajectories of former Portuguese emigrants: the construction of family integrity*, Op. cit., p. 4.

1074 Original text in Portuguese: “Poucos fenómenos sociais na história da humanidade terão tido consequências civilizacionais tão relevantes quanto as migrações... [dos] finais do século XX”.

century”.¹⁰⁷⁵ In Papademetriou’s opinion that migration transforms societies, breaking their traditional ties with their initial culture,¹⁰⁷⁶

The large-scale immigration accelerates the pace of change and highlights their effects, while their ethnic / racial / cultural / [and religious] visibility makes it particularly difficult to ignore – what makes the change as opposed to stability the rule.¹⁰⁷⁷

Migration broke the traditional Roman Catholic ties that Portuguese citizens had, which paved the way for their cultural transformation as well as the transformation of the Portuguese society. Due to poverty, lack of employment, or political uncertainty citizens departed from their habitats in Portugal to seek an improved life abroad, however, the result was the decline of the family on the three levels namely, personal, familiar, and social levels. Adding to the emigration phenomenon the April 25, 1974 Revolution permitted many citizens to abandon their villages and towns to seek a better life in cities such as Lisbon, Porto or Coimbra exposing themselves to a greater and varied religious alternatives rather than their traditional Roman Catholic faith in critical moment of transition in their lives. As explained by C. Peter Wagner in *Strategies for Church Growth*, “Events ... may produce change in the individual... A proven principle of church growth is that unchurched people are more responsive to becoming Christians and responsible church members during periods of transition”.¹⁰⁷⁸ Wagner also asserts that while facing periods of transition people experience profound “needs”,¹⁰⁷⁹ which they never experienced before. It is precisely these times of need and transition in a persons’ life which “Are great opportunities for ministering to people in need... Change has helped to ripen the harvest... A spiritual vacuum was created which allowed ... Christianity to experience its greatest growth”.¹⁰⁸⁰

1075 Papademetriou, Demetrios G., Ed., *Gerir Melhor as Migrações Internacionais: Princípios e Perspectivas Para Maximizar os Benefícios das Migrações*, (Article: A Europa e os Seus Imigrantes no Século XXI. <http://www.flad.pt/>. Accessed on 21 March, 2014), p. xv.

1076 Original text in Portuguese: “A imigração em grande escala acelera o ritmo dessa mudança e acentua os seus efeitos, ao mesmo tempo que a sua visibilidade étnica/racial-/cultural/ [religiosa] a torna particularmente difícil de ignorar – o que faz da mudança, por oposição à estabilidade, a regras”.

1077 Papademetriou, Demetrios G., Ed., *Gerir Melhor as Migrações Internacionais: Princípios e Perspectivas Para Maximizar os Benefícios das Migrações*, Op. cit., p. xxx.

1078 Wagner, C. Peter, *Strategies for Church Growth*, (GL, Regal Books: A Division of GL Publications, Ventura, California, USA. 1989), p. 82.

1079 Ibid., p. 83.

1080 Ibid.

Wagner is of the opinion that, “Religion usually enters society among the masses and works its way up”,¹⁰⁸¹ and uses the example of Latin American/Iberian societies where until the 1980s Evangelical church membership was basically composed of people from the “masses”.¹⁰⁸² However, from 1980s persons from the upper class became members of Evangelical churches,

Vigorous church growth continues among the masses. But, the upper classes have also turned receptive, and now hardly a sizeable city ... is without at least one church made up mostly of professionals and fairly well-off people.¹⁰⁸³

Migration breaks the fear of the unknown, fear to be ridiculed, fear of the others’ opinion about your choices, which are characteristics of the Portuguese as Fernando Nogueira Dias explain in *O Medo Social: e os vigilantes da Ordem Emocional*,¹⁰⁸⁴ “The Portuguese people include in their characteristics fear”.¹⁰⁸⁵ Fear of other religious expressions is easier to rout when a person is out of his or her traditional environment but that fear was eradicated in the lives of the Portuguese who migrated. Nevertheless, migration transported the Portuguese individual for another political, social and emotional environment which worked out his or her liberation from the fear giving rise to change in many Portuguese immigrants who relinquished their traditional Roman Catholic religion to become Evangelicals and Pentecostals.

The Diaspora resulted in the personal transformation of the Portuguese immigrants totalling a few million around the world. According to a study conducted from 1951 to 1965 by Adriano Albino,¹⁰⁸⁶ “The Portuguese and Portuguese-descendants to the third generation totals approximately 31.19 million abroad and Portugal would have currently more than 40 million inhabitants, if it had not been for emigration”.¹⁰⁸⁷ Nevertheless, Albino states,¹⁰⁸⁸ “Official statistics indicate that 4.53 million Portuguese emigrated”.¹⁰⁸⁹ Many of the Portuguese abroad left their Roman Catholic Churches becoming members

1081 Ibid., p. 84.

1082 Ibid., p. 85.

1083 Ibid.

1084 Original text in Portuguese: “O povo português contempla nas suas características o medo”.

1085 Dias, Fernando Nogueira, *O Medo Social: e os Vigilantes da Ordem Emocional*, (Coleção: Epistemologia e Sociedade. Instituto Piaget Divisão Editorial, Lisboa, Portugal. 2007), p. 22.

1086 Original text in Portuguese: “O total de portugueses e luso-descendentes até à terceira geração soma cerca de 31,19 milhões no estrangeiro e Portugal teria atualmente mais de 40 milhões de habitantes, não fosse a emigração”.

1087 Albino, Adriano, *Há 31,2 milhões de Portugueses no mundo*, (TVI 24 online portal. Sociedade. 2009-04-05 (10:49). TVI – Televisão Independente SA. Queluz de Baixo, Barcarena. [Portugal]. <http://www.tvi24.iol.pt/>. Accessed on 22 March, 2014).

1088 Original text in Portuguese: “Estatísticas oficiais indicam que 4,53 milhões de portugueses emigraram”.

1089 Albino, Adriano, *Há 31,2 milhões de Portugueses no mundo*, Op. cit.

of Evangelical or Pentecostal churches either led by Portuguese pastors or they were integrated into Evangelical/Pentecostal churches of the country where they live.

The immediate result on the lives of the immigrant was a true cultural and religious transformation as described by Carlos Fontes in *Emigração Portuguesa no Mundo*,¹⁰⁹⁰ “In less than ten years since the ‘50s ... more than one million Portuguese immigrated to France”.¹⁰⁹¹ Fontes states that the great challenges that the Portuguese immigrant were faced with were,¹⁰⁹² “Loneliness, slavery, family breakdown, social exclusion, xenophobia, racism, and acculturation”.¹⁰⁹³ However, as Portugal transitioned to a democratic normalization of EEC’s model many Portuguese returned to live in their country. The National Statistical Institute (Instituto Nacional de Estatística – INE) reports that the tendency of Portuguese immigration from 1970 until 1985 was that fewer Portuguese immigrated.¹⁰⁹⁴ Particularly the¹⁰⁹⁵ “acculturation”¹⁰⁹⁶ experienced by the Portuguese immigrants transformed their mind-set from the traditional Roman Catholics to religious pluralist as Michel Poinard pointed out in *Emigrantes portugueses: o regresso*,¹⁰⁹⁷ “We are witnessing today a profound shift in the mind-set of the emigrant”.¹⁰⁹⁸

Since Portuguese immigrants relaxed their fears and religious ties with the Roman Catholic Church denominations such as the Assemblies of God sent missionaries to establish churches in Angola, East-Timor, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Cape Verde, S. Tomé and Príncipe, France, Germany, United States, Canada, and South Africa. According to their online portal,¹⁰⁹⁹

1090 Original text in Portuguese: “... a partir dos anos 50 ... em menos de dez anos emigram para a França, por exemplo, mais de um de um milhão de portugueses”.

1091 Fontes, Carlos, Ed., *Estatísticas Sobre a Emigração Portuguesa*, (Information: Memórias da Emigração Portuguesa. Migrantes, <http://imigrantes.no.sapo.pt/>. Accessed on 26 March, 2014).

1092 Original text in Portuguese: “solidão, escravidão, desagregação familiar, exclusão social, xenofobia, racismo, aculturação”.

1093 Fontes, Carlos, Ed., *Estatísticas Sobre a Emigração Portuguesa*, Op. cit.

1094 Ibid.

1095 Original text in Portuguese: “aculturação”.

1096 Fontes, Carlos, Ed., *Estatísticas Sobre a Emigração Portuguesa*, Op. cit.

1097 Original text in Portuguese: “Assiste-se atualmente a uma profunda alteração da mentalidade do emigrante”.

1098 Poinard, Michel, *Emigrantes portugueses: o regresso*, (Article: *Análise Social*, vol. XIX (75), 1983 – 1º, 29-56. *Revista do Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade de Lisboa*. Lisboa, Portugal. <http://analisesocial.ics.ul.pt/>. Accessed on 29 March, 2014), p. 29.

1099 Original text in Portuguese: “No desenvolvimento da sua ação missionária o Movimento [das Assembleias de Deus] deu especial atenção ao trabalho [evangelístico e de implantação de igrejas] nos territórios ultramarinos... Da mesma maneira, também entre os emigrantes portugueses espalhados pelo Mundo”.

In the pursuit to develop its missionary activity the Movement [of the Assemblies of God] gave special attention to the [evangelistic and church planting] work in overseas territories... Likewise also among Portuguese emigrants around the world.¹¹⁰⁰

When Portugal abandoned colonialism many believers of the churches established by the Assemblies of God returned to their country of origin but they were no longer Roman Catholic. However, those that returned came back with new ideas and a new cultural frame of reference which contributed to the transformation of the Portuguese society.

Portuguese emigration intensified from the 1950s and the motivation for their initial departure from Portugal was economic, political, religious or voluntary exile.¹¹⁰¹ While abroad, the Portuguese emigrants were exposed to different schools of thought and cultures which transformed their mentality as well as their religious tolerance. The development of international mass transports made it easier for the emigrant to travel back and forth visiting his or her native land. Therefore, Poinard states,¹¹⁰² “The development of mass transportation facilitates permanent contacts... It turns the departure abroad a particular embodiment of the rural exodus”.¹¹⁰³ Nevertheless, when the emigrant returned to Portugal his or her economic status had also changed which impacted the Portuguese society as explained by Maria Ioannis B. Baganha in *From Closed to Open Door: Portuguese Emigration under the Corporative Regime*, “Portuguese emigration...had an enormous economic and demographic impact on Portuguese society”.¹¹⁰⁴ Consequently, the 1974 Revolution made it possible for them to return to Portugal with their new and innovative ideas.

To illustrate how the returned emigrants reacted towards members of other religious denominations than the traditional Roman Catholic, it is necessary to provide anecdotal evidence by Filomena Silva¹¹⁰⁵ who was a Christian singer travelling across Portugal to minister in Evangelical and Pentecostal churches since 1975. She and her Trio Boa Esperança who were her sister Teresa and her brother-in-law Raul, were threatened

1100 Branco, Paulo, *Cem Anos em Portugal Um Século de História Com Cristo: História*, (Information: Convenção das Assembleias de Deus de Portugal. Lisboa. Portugal. 2012. <http://cadp.pt/>. Accessed on 29 March, 2014).

1101 Fontes, Carlos, Ed., *Estatísticas Sobre a Emigração Portuguesa*, Op. cit.

1102 Original text in Portuguese: “o desenvolvimento dos transportes de massa facilita os contactos permanentes... Transforma a partida para o estrangeiro numa modalidade particular do êxodo rural”.

1103 Poinard, Michel, *Emigrantes portugueses: o regresso*, Op. cit., p. 30.

1104 Baganha, Maria Ioannis B., *From Closed to Open Doors: Portuguese Emigration under the Corporatist Regime*, (Article: E-Journal of Portuguese History. A Joint Publication of the University of Porto (Portugal) and Brown University (USA), Vol., I, Nº I, Summer 2003. <http://www.brown.edu/>. Accessed on 29 March, 2014).

1105 This is my beloved wife.

verbally many times by the local populations who did not appreciate their ‘Protestant’ influence through music. On a particular occasion, Filomena said some returned Roman Catholic emigrants defended her and the members of her Trio from the aggression of local citizens.¹¹⁰⁶ The fact that these Roman Catholic emigrants defended Evangelicals is evidence that their mind-sets had changed as a result of their interaction with people of other religions and cultures.

Peoples with other religions rather than Christianity also began coming to the country during this period (1976-1985), which impacted on Portuguese society and policies concerning religious freedom. As Jared D. Lardson explains in *Democratic and Migration Transition in Spain and Portugal: Catholic Contexts and Secular Responses*, “It is through contemporary migration, of Muslims in particular, that true tests of the relatively new liberalized laws of religious freedom and equality have come about”.¹¹⁰⁷ The Portuguese society received the religious transformation brought about by as the impact of migration as Lardson states, “Rapid economic development influences society in a positive way, perhaps connections may be made to the acceptance of vertiginous liberalization and correspondingly low levels of contention surrounding religious liberty as well”.¹¹⁰⁸ In addition, Lardson mentions that from 1976 to 1985 the Portuguese economy initiated a shift transferring a significant part of its work force from the primary sector to the tertiary,

Brought about by democratization and reintegration into the European and global marketplaces, practically skipping a long industrial-driven phase of development, as was typical in most modern countries of immigration.¹¹⁰⁹

After their return, the Portuguese immigrants had already made a profound inward cultural shift and were ready for the new social and economic reality. Integration was easier, corresponding to the new mental framework acquired elsewhere in the world. Consequently, the Portuguese society became increasingly prepared to accept new views concerning religion.

1106 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 19 – with Filomena Silva*, (Conducted at Benoni Evangelical Church, Benoni, South Africa on 29 March, 2014).

1107 Lardson, Jared D, *Democratic and Migration Transition in Spain and Portugal: Catholic Contexts and Secular Responses*, (Paper: Collection – MIGRARE Working Papers. Centro de Estudos Geográficos, Institute of Geography and Spatial Planning, University of Lisbon, Portugal. November 2010), p. 4.

1108 Ibid., p. 7.

1109 Ibid.

3.3.2 THE NEW PORTUGUESE MIND-SET CONCERNING RELIGION

Historical developments resulted in the new Portuguese mind-set concerning the freedom to choose differently from the traditional Roman Catholic model as a result of the new mind-set concerning religious freedom. The country progressively proceeded to becoming a secular state in which globalization played a major role, including the EEC's legislation but particularly the Brazilian culture through their 'soap operas' (telenovelas), resulted in practical measures to implement freedom of religion. Religious pluralism was another aspect of the transition for democratic normalization in the process to be implemented as the result of new ideas on what is the Christian faith as well as what is its role in a secular state.

3.3.2.1 The Christian faith and its role in a secular state

New ideas developed in Portugal concerning the plural expression of the Christian faith and how Christianity plays its role in a secular state. A new understanding emerged in a secular society that imagines religion as part of the private sphere of human life. Christianity challenges this notion because its ultimate goal is to establish the ethical principles of the Kingdom of God in all social interactions. Therefore, the various aspects related to the Christian faith and its role in a secular state will be addressed including the historical development of the Portuguese social acceptance of Christian pluralism.

After the bloodless 1974 Revolution the relationship between the Roman Catholic Church and the State was severed as Portuguese Roman Catholicism continued to incorporate the guidelines of the Second Vatican Council. However, Lardson argues that "The relationship between the State and the Roman Catholic Church, as well as the Church's role in society, was called into question".¹¹¹⁰ In fact, liberalism and religious pluralism were developing similarly "throughout Europe"¹¹¹¹ codifying "religious freedom, especially regarding social and religious organization".¹¹¹² European countries became aware of the overwhelming importance of historical and social realities related to the "Evolution of legal approaches to religion and church-state relations".¹¹¹³ Lardson

¹¹¹⁰ Ibid., p. 10.

¹¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹¹³ Ibid.

add, “Religious pluralism drives state policies throughout Europe, even if unintended and unequal consequences are the result”,¹¹¹⁴ and argues that the case of Portugal and Spain was paradigmatic,

Because of the drastic shifts in religion-state relations that occurred after decades of authoritarian rule by [the Portuguese and Spanish] regimes closely linked with the [Roman] Catholic Church, whose nationalist ideologies depended so heavily on religious myths and imagery, to converge on open, pluralist arrangements in the contemporary European context.¹¹¹⁵

However, the overwhelming presence of the Roman Catholic Church over society forced Portugal into a new type of solution to the problem of state-religion relations, which was labelled as “Separation with cooperation”,¹¹¹⁶ as Lardson assert this will be discussed later in this thesis. A decade after the 1974 Revolution, the Portuguese authorities embraced the process of religious liberalization in a country relatively new to democracy but old in Roman Catholic tradition. According to Lardson from 1976 to 1985

The Portuguese Republic’s relationship with the Vatican, codified in the Concordat of 1940, was not completely nullified until 2001, demonstrating favour for the [Roman] Catholic Church over other religious institutions despite a supposed liberalization enshrined in the *1976 Constitution*.¹¹¹⁷

It is therefore necessary to understand the proper role played by the Roman Catholic faith in the new Portuguese secular state.

In a secular state it is normal to encounter plural forms of the Christian faith that competes for religious space amongst peoples of other faiths, which was not yet the case in Portugal according to Lardson, “Despite a slow, official acceptance of other faiths via legislation in 1971 and 1975 and the *1976 Constitution*...Portugal did not completely replace its *1940 Concordat* with the Vatican, which provided the Roman Catholic Church with a clearly privileged position, until 2001”.¹¹¹⁸ While the Roman Catholic Church had immense privileges in Portugal one decade after the 1974 Revolution the Portuguese state continued to ignore other faiths’ equal rights. According to Lardson the Roman Catholic Church continued to have the following privileges for the entire transitional phase for democratic normalization (1976-1985),¹¹¹⁹

The Roman Catholic Church was the only religious community recognized as a church and a corporate body of international law. Catholic related news was heavily favoured, in terms of

1114 Ibid.

1115 Ibid.

1116 Ibid., p. 11.

1117 Ibid.

1118 Ibid.

1119 Ibid., p. 14.

coverage and exposure, by state-run media. Only Roman Catholic marriages were considered both civil and legal. Priests were allowed in hospitals and prisons at any time, while other clergy members were treated as visitors. All chaplains in the hospitals, jails, and the military were exclusively Roman Catholic. Only the income of the [Roman] Catholic priests was not taxed, that of other clergies was. [And], only the [Roman] Catholic Church was exempt from all taxation on its activities, such as value-added tax, inheritance tax, donations, and property taxes.¹¹²⁰

Obviously, the overwhelming grip over the Portuguese society should be altered and the Roman Catholic Church should occupy a space like any other religious institution. Nevertheless, Lardson points out that the involvement of the Roman Catholic Church in “The respective corporative dictatorships in Spain and Portugal ... left their mark on society and have directly conditioned contemporary debate and policy regarding religious freedom”.¹¹²¹ While the debate on religious freedom continued globalization played its role in the secularization and liberalization of Portugal.

3.3.2.2 The role played by globalization in the liberalization of Portuguese society

The process for EEC integration increasingly exposed Portugal to the various trends of globalisation and the pressure was compelling. As highlighted by Miguel Alexandre Glatzer in *Economic openness, democracy and institutional adjustment: The politics of welfare state development in Spain and Portugal*, “Globalization can place downward pressure at particular moments and in particular circumstances”.¹¹²² According to Glatzer, “The European Community [did not] protect Spain and Portugal against international competition”.¹¹²³ Therefore, instead of choosing to adhere to liberalism and total openness Portugal pursued a middle ground known as “Embedded liberalism”,¹¹²⁴ which Glatzer labels as a mixture of liberalism with welfare state. Galtzer states that the Portuguese authorities “Simply reacted to social demands for greater social protection in face of greater perceived risk”.¹¹²⁵ While the Portuguese authorities sought a balanced policy to adopt, society became vulnerable to the diverse religious trends brought in by global interaction and as a consequence religious proliferation increased.

¹¹²⁰ Ibid., p. 11.

¹¹²¹ Ibid., p. 20.

¹¹²² Glatzer, Miguel Alexandre, *Economic openness, democracy and institutional adjustment: The politics of welfare state development in Spain and Portugal*, (Dissertation: Udini by ProQuest. <http://udini.proquest.com/>. Accessed on 29 March, 2014), p. 3.

¹¹²³ Ibid.

¹¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹¹²⁵ Ibid.

3.3.2.3 The impact of the Brazilian culture through the ‘soap operas’

In 1977 the Portuguese National Television (Rádio Televisão Portuguesa – RTP) initiated the broadcast of *Gabriela – Cravo e Canela* a Brazilian soap opera (*telenovela*) which was popular, as Isabel Ferin Cunha explains in *As Telenovelas Brasileiras em Portugal*,¹¹²⁶ “Since 1977, the Brazilian soap opera ... [is] a product of unquestionable success in Portugal”.¹¹²⁷ Along with a reality show named *A visita da Cornélia*, the Brazilian soap opera¹¹²⁸ “Altered the course of television in Portugal while symbolizing and anticipating the emergence of a new society and lifestyles centred on consumption and media entertainment”.¹¹²⁹ Cunha states that,¹¹³⁰ “At that time they were already great products and consumer impact: popular music, the book industry, the Brazilian theatre and film”.¹¹³¹ Portugal was a fragmented country, but the soap opera helped to unite society as Cunha stresses,¹¹³²

A country fragmented by political quarrels at the national and household level, the soap opera *Gabriela* comes to generate a phenomenon of social cohesion and functions as a means of consensus that promotes interactivity with the audience.¹¹³³

Members of society appropriated the soap opera *Gabriela* according to their own expectations, particularly related to their lost identity with the end of the empire, but, also, issues of cosmopolitan modern daily life such as¹¹³⁴ “The emancipation of women, sexual freedom and changes in lifestyles and customs”,¹¹³⁵ were addressed by the Brazilian soap operas. Television altered society, which Cunha labelled as¹¹³⁶ “‘Televised country’; that is, in Portugal, the inherent phenomena of transforming

1126 Original text in Portuguese: “a telenovela brasileira ... desde 1977, [é] um produto de sucesso indiscutível em Portugal”.

1127 Cunha, Isabel, Ferin, *As telenovelas brasileiras em Portugal*, (Article: Universidade de Coimbra. <http://bocc.ubi.pt/>. Accessed on 30 March, 2014), p. 1.

1128 Original texto in Portuguese: “alterarão o percurso da televisão em Portugal ao mesmo tempo que anteciparão e simbolizarão a emergência de uma nova sociedade e estilos de vida centrados no consumo e nos *Media*”.

1129 Cunha, Isabel, Ferin, *As telenovelas brasileiras em Portugal*, Op. cit., p. 5.

1130 Original texto in Portuguese: “Nessa altura já eram produtos de grande impacto e consumo: a música popular, a indústria livreira, o teatro e o cinema brasileiros”.

1131 Cunha, Isabel, Ferin, *As telenovelas brasileiras em Portugal*, Op. cit., p. 6.

1132 Original text in Portuguese: “num país fragmentado pelas quezílias políticas no âmbito nacional e familiar, a telenovela *Gabriela* vem gerar um fenómeno de coesão e consenso social em função da interatividade que promove com o seu público - interpelando-o a partir da sua *unidade básica de audiência*”.

1133 Cunha, Isabel, Ferin, *As telenovelas brasileiras em Portugal*, Op. cit., pp. 6-7.

1134 Original texto in Portuguese: “a emancipação da mulher, a liberdade sexual e as mudanças de estilos de vida e costumes”.

1135 Cunha, Isabel, Ferin, *As telenovelas brasileiras em Portugal*, Op. cit., p. 7.

1136 Original texto in Portuguese: “‘país televisivo’ ou seja, o início, em Portugal, dos fenómenos inerentes à massificação das audiências centradas na televisão”.

audiences into mass communication objects focused on television”.¹¹³⁷ However, there was opposition to the broadcast of other Brazilian soap operas,¹¹³⁸ “Because it was feared that an excessive influence of the Brazilian dialects and cultural experiences”¹¹³⁹ would infiltrate Portuguese society and had a negative effect on the language and culture. The emerging middle class, however, realised that the Brazilian soap operas could provide new models of behaviour, lifestyle, meaning and values inherent in modernisation. Members of the emerging middle class realized the opportunity they had to model their lives according to the new models observed in the soap operas thus claiming their freedom of choice against traditional rigid Portuguese values.¹¹⁴⁰

The discussion on the role of the Brazilian soap operas which contributed to the change of the Portuguese mind-set and culture is important because it paved the way for the population to become more tolerant and accepting of the various religions found after the 1974 Revolution. The impact of Brazilian soap operas altered the traditional rigidity of the Portuguese society and prepared them for the different accents of Brazilian Portuguese language. According to Cunha,¹¹⁴¹

Television ... becomes, from this moment, one of the most active agents of modernization – about 90% of households have television ... at the end of ‘80 – to be the national and international centre of culture(s) and information, establishing relations between images and realities.¹¹⁴²

Public education and religious television programs also contributed as practical measures to the quest for religious freedom in Portugal.

3.3.2.4 Practical measures to enhance religious freedom

The Portuguese authorities took practical measures concerning the respect for the principle of freedom of religion to flourish within a pluralist democratic modern society. One of the practical examples of how the transition phase for democratic normalization effectively brought about change to the country from a Roman Catholic traditionalist

1137 Cunha, Isabel, Ferin, *As telenovelas brasileiras em Portugal*, Op. cit.

1138 Original text in Portuguese: “não só por se temer uma demasiada influência dos falares e vivências culturais brasileiras”.

1139 Cunha, Isabel, Ferin, *As telenovelas brasileiras em Portugal*, Op. cit., pp. 7-8.

1140 Cunha, Isabel, Ferin, *As telenovelas brasileiras em Portugal*, Op. cit.

1141 Original text in Portuguese: “A televisão ... torna-se, a partir deste momento, um dos agentes mais ativos de modernização – cerca de 90% dos lares possuem televisão ... no final de 80 – ao constituir-se centro de informação e de cultura(a) nacionais e internacionais, estabelecendo relações entre imagens e realidades”.

1142 Cunha, Isabel, Ferin, *As telenovelas brasileiras em Portugal*, Op. cit., p. 8.

society to a secular modern democracy was by evolving from¹¹⁴³ “Abstract tolerance to the guarantee of concrete rights”.¹¹⁴⁴ According to Luís Aguiar Santos in *O Protestantismo em Portugal (V): constantes e linhas de força*, areas which Portugal reformed in contemplating religious freedom were the permission for the subject of Religion and Moral (Religião e Moral) of any religious persuasion to be taught in public schools as well as the granting of religious programmes of religions other than the Roman Catholic to be broadcast on public television.

In 1984 the Portuguese Association of Christian Teachers (Associação Portuguesa de Professores Cristãos) was established,¹¹⁴⁵ and, later, the Commission for the Evangelical Educative Action in Public Schools (Comissão para a Acção Educativa Evangélica nas Escolas Públicas).¹¹⁴⁶ The Commission for the Evangelical Educative Action in Public Schools was affiliated to the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance (Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa – AEP)¹¹⁴⁷ as well as to the Portuguese Council of Christian Churches (Conselho Português de Igrejas Cristãs – COPIC).¹¹⁴⁸ Santos states that the combined efforts of the AEP and the COPIC succeeded,¹¹⁴⁹ “In 1991, special legislation regulated the formation of Religion and Moral classes in the public school system and remunerated teachers of this subject belonging to any church or religious associations legalised”.¹¹⁵⁰ With regard to the permission for non-Roman Catholic religious expression to be televised Santos mentions that,¹¹⁵¹ “In 1986, the AEP and the COPIC began to have joint access to broadcasting on public television, although various denominations had already bought time slots on private radio stations”.¹¹⁵²

1143 Original text in Portuguese: “nota-se uma evolução da ordem jurídica portuguesa da tolerância abstrata para a garantia em concreto de direitos”.

1144 Santos, Luís Aguiar, *O Protestantismo em Portugal (V): constantes e linhas de força*, (Article: L & LP (Livre & Leal Português, Blogg, <http://livreeleal.blogspot.com/>. Accessed on 29 March, 2014).

1145 Ibid.

1146 Ibid.

1147 Ibid.

1148 Ibid.

1149 Original text in Portuguese: “Em 1991, legislação especial regulamentou a formação de turmas e a remuneração de docentes de Educação Moral e Religiosa de Igrejas e associações religiosas legalizadas na rede de escolas públicas”.

1150 Santos, Luís Aguiar, *O Protestantismo em Portugal (V): constantes e linhas de força*, Op. cit.

1151 Original text in Portuguese: “Em 1986, a A.E.P. e o C.O.P.I.C. passaram a ter acesso conjunto a tempo de emissão no serviço público de televisão, embora várias denominações tivessem já investido na compra de tempo de antena em estações independentes de radiodifusão”.

1152 Santos, Luís Aguiar, *O Protestantismo em Portugal (V): constantes e linhas de força*, Op. cit.

Portugal transformed as the world adapted to new schools of thought for human life and within this cultural modification global renewal movements influenced Portuguese Christianity.

3.3.3 THE INFLUENCE OF GLOBAL RENEWAL MOVEMENTS ON PORTUGUESE CHRISTIANITY

Christianity in Portugal went through a profound change after the Second World War due to the necessity to respond to the social needs and problems caused by the war. However, the social and moral needs of the world gave rise to the renewal of Christianity in Portugal to respond in various forms which initiated new trends of worldwide Christianity. The examination of the influence of new global trends in Christian renewal is important for this study, because it impacted Portuguese Christianity in the social perception of ethics as well as within the establishment of Pentecostalism. The Evangelical/Pentecostal perception of the problems posed by the new world ethics in Portuguese society as well as the influence of the new international trends of Evangelicalism and Pentecostalism will be discussed in this section because these movements are part of the religious proliferation established in the country as a consequence of the 1974 Revolution.

3.3.3.1 The influence of global Evangelicalism on Portuguese Christianity

By the end of the Seventeenth and during the Eighteenth Centuries Pietism developed in Germany as an Evangelical revival. In Great Britain and in the United States, Pietism was expressed in society from 1740 to 1742¹¹⁵³ as the “Great Awakening”,¹¹⁵⁴ within the Methodist denomination as well as the Holiness Movement, according to Paul Merritt Bassett in *Evangelicalismo*. As Steven J. Lawson points out in *The Life and Legacy of Jonathan Edwards: The Distinguished Marks of a Work of the True Spirit*, “This intense season of spiritual revival known as the Great Awakening proved the most extraordinary movement of the Spirit of God in American history, nothing less than a Second

1153 Lawson, Dr Steven J., *The Life and Legacy of Jonathan Edwards: The Distinguished Marks of a Work of the True Spirit*, (Information: <http://www.cfbcmobile.org/>. Accessed on 30 March, 2014), p. 1.

1154 Bassett, Paul Merritt, *Evangelicalismo*, (Information: Public Services Home Page. Science, Energy, Environment, Technology, Religion, Society. <http://mb-soft.com/>. Accessed on 30 March, 2014).

Reformation”.¹¹⁵⁵ As a consequence of the Great Awakening in the United States of America the Evangelical Movement emerged and its various denominations spread to Portugal from the nineteenth century.

One of the main areas of the impact of global Evangelicalism was in theological teaching. Greater Europe Mission “Entered Portugal in 1971 with the goal of establishing a Bible Institute where Christians could learn the essentials of *God's Word* and receive training in evangelism and church growth”¹¹⁵⁶ according to the online portal of the IBP-AEE (Instituto Bíblico Português – Associação Evangélica de Educação). The Greater Europe Mission is a missionary organization founded in 1941¹¹⁵⁷ in the USA, which established the Portuguese Bible Institute (Instituto Bíblico Português – IBP) in 1971. However, it was after the Carnation Revolution in 1974 that the IBP implemented its teaching ministry in Portugal,

After years of groundwork, the Portuguese Bible Institute (IBP), a resident school, was established in the fall of 1974 near Lisbon. Eventually an association was formed: Association for Evangelical Education, which is the legal entity that includes the Portuguese Bible Institute.¹¹⁵⁸

The IBP is an interdenominational Institute of Theology, now linked to the North-West University in South Africa. Its Evangelical impact on Portuguese Christianity has been particularly felt amongst Evangelical denominations since its foundation in Portugal. Worldwide Pentecostalism also established its Christian renewal message in Portugal.

3.3.3.2 The influence of global Pentecostal/Charismatic Movements in Portugal

Pentecostalism flows from the Holiness Movement amongst Evangelical denominations in mid-Nineteenth Century, which is based on the doctrine “Of Christian perfection”,¹¹⁵⁹ according to Donald Bayton in *American Holiness Movement*. As a continuation of the Holiness Movement, Pentecostalism pursued Christian perfection not only in the ethical

1155 Lawson, Dr Steven J., *The Life and Legacy of Jonathan Edwards: The Distinguished Marks of a Work of the True Spirit*, Op. cit., p. 1.

1156[?], *The History of IBP*, (Information: IBP – AEE, Instituto Bíblico Português – Associação Evangélica de Educação. S. Antão do Tojal, Portugal. <http://www.ibp-ae.org/>. Accessed on 31 March, 2014).

1157 [?], *Greater Europe Mission – GEM*, (Information: <http://www.gemission.org/>. Greater Europe Mission. 2010. USA. <http://www.gemission.org/>. Accessed on 31 March, 2014).

1158[?], *The History of IBP*, (Information: IBP – AEE, Instituto Bíblico Português – Associação Evangélica de Educação. S. Antão do Tojal, Portugal. <http://www.ibp-ae.org/>. Accessed on 31 March, 2014).

1159 Dayton, Donald, *American Holiness Movement*, (Paper: Occasional Bibliographic Papers of the B.L. Fisher Library #1. First Fruits, the Academic Open Press of Asbury Seminary. Asbury Theological Seminary. Wilmore. Kentucky. United States), p. 34.

aspect but also in the devotional and spiritual experience, which resulted in an exponential international growth of about “570 million adherents worldwide”,¹¹⁶⁰ as Allan Anderson describes in *The Origins of Pentecostalism and its Global Spread in the Early Twentieth Century*. Joel Robbins confirms in *The Globalization of Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity*,

Pentecostal-charismatic Christianity (P/c) [is] the form of Christianity in which believers receive the gifts of the Holy Spirit, [which] is rapidly spreading and can be counted as one of the great success stories of the current era of cultural globalization.¹¹⁶¹

Robbins is of the opinion that Pentecostalism is the fastest growing sector of Protestantism, “The most dynamic and fastest growing sector of Protestant Christianity worldwide...will soon surpass Roman Catholicism to become the predominant global form of Christianity of the 21st Century”.¹¹⁶² The Pentecostal/Charismatic Movement “Represents a paradigm case of global cultural flow that starts historically in the West and expands to cover the globe”,¹¹⁶³ (Robbins). Pentecostalism has appeared throughout the world in rural and urban areas, amongst the poor and middle class members of society. Anthropologists around the world begin to register the cultural impact of the Pentecostal/Charismatic form of Christianity, “What is striking ... is the ... spread of P/c (Pentecostal/charismatic) as a cultural process... P/c consistently replicates its doctrines, organizational features, and rituals in canonical Western form wherever it is introduced”.¹¹⁶⁴ In addition, “The P/c’s have the ability to replicate itself successfully in different cultures ... converts are quick to indigenize P/c forms of Christianity, ... these churches with a remarkable ability to adapt themselves to the cultures into which they are introduced”.¹¹⁶⁵

There were mainly three geographical areas where the Pentecostal/Charismatic revival ignited; these are Wales, India, and Los Angeles in the USA. Allan Anderson mentions in *To All Points of the Compass: The Azusa Street Revival and Global Pentecostalism*, “The present worldwide revival was rocked in the cradle of little Wales. It was brought to

1160 Anderson, Allan, *The Origins of Pentecostalism and its Global Spread in the Early Twentieth Century*, (Paper: Graduate Institute for Theology and Religion. University of Birmingham. Oxford Centre for Mission Studies. [England]. 2004), p. 1.

1161 Robbins, Joel, *The Globalization of Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity*, (Article: Annual Review of Anthropology. Annu. Rev. Anthropol. 2004. <http://www.jstor.org/>. Accessed on 30 March, 2014), p. 117.

1162 Ibid., p. 118.

1163 Ibid.

1164 Ibid.

1165 Ibid.

India, following; becoming full-grown in Los Angeles”.¹¹⁶⁶ With regard to Portugal, Anderson states that “Portuguese Pentecostalism has its roots in Brazil. José Plácido da Costa and José de Matos travelled from Brazil to Portugal, in 1913 and 1921 respectively, as Pentecostal missionaries”.¹¹⁶⁷ After the initial wave of Pentecostal Movements spreading the ‘Spirit fire’ around the world, other Pentecostal denominations rather the initial Assembly of God were established in Portugal. In this regard Anderson states,

A second phase of 20 to 30 new Brazilian Pentecostal denominations arose after 1952, the most important ones being Brazil for Christ, God is Love, and Foursquare Gospel Church. After...1975, a third Pentecostal movement began. The largest entity of this new movement was the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God...founded by Edir Macedo in 1977 in Rio de Janeiro.¹¹⁶⁸

Mention must be made of the developments related to Theological Education within Pentecostalism in Portugal since the Portuguese Assemblies of God established their Lisbon Bible Institute (Instituto Bíblico de Lisboa)¹¹⁶⁹ on 13 January, 1966. Subsequently, the Convention of the Assemblies of God invited Samuel Johnson, an American Assemblies of God missionary working in Spain, to settle in Portugal to assist with the theological training of leadership of the denomination. Johnson established the International Correspondence Institute (Instituto de Correspondência Internacional – ICI)¹¹⁷⁰ as well as the Mount Hope Bible Institute (Monte Esperança Instituto Bíblico de Portugal – MEIBAD)¹¹⁷¹ on a large property located in Fanhões, Loures.

One of the relevant aspects of Portuguese Pentecostalism was its renewal of social ethics amongst its membership which impacted other forms of Christianity in the country. After the 1974 Revolution during the period 1976 to 1985 the Pentecostal denominations in Portugal such as the Assembly of God grew at a much faster pace than the rest of the Evangelicals, their increasing growth was linked to the response their message provided concerning the social and ethical needs of the Portuguese. The Pentecostal message included their ethical position on ecumenism, political engagement, dress code for men

¹¹⁶⁶ Anderson, Allan, *To All Points of the Compass: The Azusa Street Revival and Global Pentecostalism*, (Article: Assemblies of God - Enrichment Journal. National Leadership and Resource Center, The General Council of the Assemblies of God. Springfield, Missouri, [USA]. <http://enrichmentjournal.ag.org/>. Accessed on 30 March, 2014), p. [2].

¹¹⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 16.

¹¹⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 13.

¹¹⁶⁹ Da Silva, F. C., *A Study of the Charismatic Movement in Portugal with Particular Reference to the Fraternal Association*, Op. cit., p. 84.

¹¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹¹⁷¹ Ibid.

and women, as well as a Christian's abstinence from alcohol, tobacco and drugs. Over and above these Christians were discouraged from visiting the cinema and watching television. The Portuguese society was traditional and was expected to uphold all the above mentioned issues. However, there was considerable debate among the Portuguese society but the Pentecostals adhered to the dictates of their faith and conduct and portrayed a unique ethical lifestyle which made society question their own ethics. Consequently, the Pentecostal's position as denomination was enhanced because they upheld the tenets of the ethics faith.

Portuguese Pentecostals refused to engage in the Ecumenical Movement because of the theological and ethical reasons. Tage Stahlberg explains in *Ecumenismo e Ecumenismo*,¹¹⁷²

There are two streams that we call ecumenism... One is linked to the World Council of Churches ... [and] seeks to bring all denominations and faiths under one 'hat'... Such a union is an unbiblical concept of ecumenism... There is however a true ecumenism operated by the Holy Spirit of God ... tearing down denominational barriers and penetrating the closed doors of the churches, without noticing the label that tops them.¹¹⁷³

Stahlberg was knowledgeable about the Portuguese reality since he was a Swedish missionary and a pioneer of the Portuguese Assemblies of God for almost his entire life. The issue of world-wide Pentecostal ethics was considered by the Assembly of God Ministers even with a deeper meaning in Portuguese social reality, because by contrast it competed with the ethical stand of Portuguese Roman Catholicism. Even if in essence Pentecostal ethics were an expression of personal sanctity towards their spiritual stand related to God, Pentecostal ethics were also motivated by the proselytise aim in favour of the growth of their churches. The Pentecostal message and its practice should match in a symbiotic testimonial rhetoric, which challenged and called the attention of the Roman Catholic based society and resulted in the growth of Pentecostal churches. However, Pentecostal leaders such as Stahlberg assertively attributed the success of the implementation of Pentecostal ethics as the work of the Spirit of God in their denominations, which was seen as antagonist towards the ecumenical movement from

1172 Original text in Portuguese: "Existem duas correntes a que podemos chamar de ecumenismo... Uma está ligada ao Conselho Mundial das Igrejas ... [e] procura congregar todas as denominações e credos debaixo do mesmo 'chapéu'... Tal união ou conceito de ecumenismo é antibíblico... Existe, porém, um verdadeiro ecumenismo operado pelo Espírito Santo de Deus ... derrubando as barreiras denominacionais e penetrando pelas portas fechadas das igrejas, sem reparar no rótulo que encabeça".

1173 Stahlberg, Tage, *Ecumenismo e Ecumenismo*, (News report: Revista Avivamento, Publicação Trimestral. Órgão de Reavivamento e Cristianismo Bíblico. Ano I – nº4 – 1977, Outubro, Novembro, Dezembro. Lisboa. Portugal), p. 5.

their sanctity viewpoint. According to Stahlberg, that movement of the Spirit was¹¹⁷⁴ “Happening within the old Christendom, regardless if it was within the Pentecostals or in any other denomination”.¹¹⁷⁵ Thus, the social ethical position of the Portuguese Protestants, Evangelicals and Pentecostals was oriented towards what pastors thought to be the highest sanctified lifestyle required by the *Bible* to maintain the Holy Spirit permeating the Church. Yet, another international Charismatic movement settled in Portugal within the Roman Catholic Church, which is the Renewal Catholic Movement.

3.3.3.3 The impact of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal (CCR) on Portuguese Christianity

The Catholic Charismatic Renewal (CCR) also had an impact on Portuguese Christianity. In *Ecclesial Movements: The Catholic Renewal Movement*, Randy Sly describes the Charismatic Catholic Renewal as having its roots in St. Paul’s Epistles, “*Romans* 12; *I Corinthians* 12 and, *Ephesians* 4”,¹¹⁷⁶ but it also follows the “Catechism of the [Roman] Catholic Church”.¹¹⁷⁷ The gifts of the Spirit or *charismas* were experienced by many in the Roman Catholic Church such as: “St. Augustine of Hippo (345-430), St. Francis of Assisi (1182-1226), St. Dominic (1170-1221), St. Catherine of Siena (1330-1380), St. Teresa of Avila (1515-1582), St. John Bosco (1815-1888)”¹¹⁷⁸ and others. About the time the Pentecostal Movement amongst Evangelicals initiated its holiness renewal Pope Leo III published his Encyclical entitled “*Divinum Illud Munus* in 1897”,¹¹⁷⁹ which was inspired by 12 letters written by Blessed Elena Guerra in 1895. According to Sly, Pope Leo III stated in his Encyclical, “We ought to pray to and invoke the Holy Spirit”.¹¹⁸⁰ News about the Pentecostal experience spread and Pope Leo III responded positively to the new Christian Movement flowing from Protestantism. Kasomo Daniel states in *An Assessment of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal towards peaceful co-existence in the Roma Catholic Church*, “The Catholic Charismatic Renewal [is] a movement within the

1174 Original text in Portuguese: “Isto está acontecendo no seio da velha cristandade independentemente da denominação de pentecostal ou outra qualquer”.

1175 Stahlberg, Tage, *Ecumenismo e Ecumenismo*, Op. cit., p. 5.

1176 Sly, Randy, Ed., *Ecclesial Movements: The Catholic Renewal Movement*, (Information: Catholic Online, Bakersfield, California. USA. 06/05/2011. <http://www.catholic.org/>. Accessed on 1 April, 2014).

1177 Ibid.

1178 Ibid.

1179 Ibid.

1180 Ibid.

Roman Catholic Church that had its influence from Protestant Pentecostals”.¹¹⁸¹ The online portal of the CCR explains that their spiritual experience is related to that of Evangelist Charles Parham and William Joseph Seymour both with “a deeper experience with God”.¹¹⁸²

Evangelist Charles Parham...and his Bible School...Bethel Healing Home in Topeka, Kansas [USA]...met William Joseph Seymour sharing with him his experience with the Holy Spirit. Seymour went on to establish the Azuza Street Mission, where the Assemblies of God and other Pentecostal Groups were formed”.¹¹⁸³

In this regard, Sly claims, while preparing for Second Vatican Council in 1962, Pope John XXIII “Prayed for a new Pentecost”,¹¹⁸⁴ and in “1978...[the] International Catholic Charismatic Renewal Services was established in the Vatican”.¹¹⁸⁵ Sly adds that another Roman Catholic Charismatic organization was later established on 30 November, 1990, “The Pontifical Council for the Laity also established the Roman Catholic Fraternity of Charismatic Covenant Communities and Fellowships as a private association”.¹¹⁸⁶ In Portugal, the Movement is known as Catholic Charismatic Renewal (Renovamento Carismático Católico – RCC), which according to its online portal,¹¹⁸⁷ “In Portugal, [the RCC] began to form the first prayer groups of the Charismatic Renewal in 1974. It began in the Diocese of Lisbon”.¹¹⁸⁸ This is significant because even the Roman Catholic Church experienced renewal after the 1974 Revolution. The Portuguese RCC continued to grow from 1976 to 1985 while world missions also supported religious proliferation in Portugal.

3.3.4 WORLD MISSIONS SUPPORT RELIGIOUS PROLIFERATION

The world missionary organisations played an important role from 1976 to 1985 by establishing various forms of Christianity in Portugal as the traditional Roman Catholic

1181 Daniel, Kasomo, *An Assessment of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal towards peaceful co-existence in the Roma Catholic Church*, (Article: International Journal of Sociology and Anthropology, Vol. 2(8), Department of Philosophy Religion and Theology, Maseno University, Kenia. 2010), p.171.

1182 Sly, Randy, Ed., *Ecclesial Movements: The Catholic Renewal Movement*, Op. cit.

1183 Ibid.

1184 Ibid.

1185 Ibid.

1186 Ibid.

1187 Original text in Portuguese: “Em Portugal, começaram a formar-se os primeiros grupos de oração do Renovamento Carismático em 1974. Na Diocese de Lisboa teve início”.

1188 [?], *Renovamento Carismático Católico – História*, (Information: Lisboa, [Portugal]. <http://www.ecclesia.pt/>. Accessed on 1 April, 2014).

country began to acknowledge Christian plurality. The continued efforts of world missions and foreign missionaries in Portugal is directly associated with the exponential growth of religious proliferation particularly active in the transitional phase for democratic normalization (1976-1985). Below is a discussion of the role of foreign missionaries and world missions in shaping Evangelical, Pentecostal and Charismatic denominations in Portugal. During the period 1976 to 1985 as a consequence of the 1974 Revolution a number of religious bodies were established.

3.3.4.1 The role of foreign missionaries in shaping Portuguese Evangelical, Pentecostal and Charismatic denominations

Foreign missions played a significant role in support of Evangelical and Pentecostal as well as Charismatic denominations in Portugal from 1976 to 1985. The following discussion includes not only the role of foreign missions in the establishment of non-Roman Catholic Christian religious entities in Portugal but also how foreign missionaries developed an interaction with the national Christian leadership of various denominations. In addition, this study includes an investigation of the involvement of major contributors towards changing the Pentecostal into a Charismatic movement.

- Foreign missions' support to establish diverse Christian entities in Portugal

Evangelical and Pentecostal denominations world-wide continued their exponential growth which was also experienced in Portugal due to the solid mentorship and financial support of world missions during the period under scrutiny (1976-1985). What follows is a description of various non-Roman Catholic international mission organizations that directly supported missionary endeavours in Portugal.

The Swedish Pentecostal churches known as Philadelphia Assemblies provided the most significant missions support to the Portuguese Assemblies of God. The Philadelphia Assemblies initiated their missions efforts decades before the 1974 *coup d'état* as John Bond points out in *The Start of the Pentecostal Revival World Wide and the Swedish Pentecostal Assemblies*, "They planted large and successful movements in countries like Portugal and Brazil".¹¹⁸⁹ Through the leadership of Lewi Pethrus the Philadelphia Assemblies supported "Two Swedes, Tage Stahlberg and Ernest Newman. They

¹¹⁸⁹ Bond, John, *The Start of the Pentecostal Revival World Wide and the Swedish Pentecostal Assemblies*, (Information: For the Record, Reflections on the Assemblies of God, online portal, <http://www.nuparadigm.co.za/>. Accessed on 3 July, 2015).

succeeded in the face of strong Government restrictions and opposition from the Roman Catholic hierarchy”.¹¹⁹⁰ The Philadelphia Assemblies continued their support until 1978 when there was a shift from the Swedish Mission to the Assembly of God World Missions based in the United States.

Why this shift transpired is an intriguing historical question since the Swedish missionary organization had been supporting the Portuguese Assembly of God (AoG) from the beginning of the century. However, in a telephonic conversation with Samuel Johnson he said that his grandfather was a Swede, who emigrated from Sweden to the United States,

Probably because my grandfather was from Swedish descent, from the very beginning there was a very strong bond between the two of us concerning the Portuguese mission. First Stahlberg asked Johnson to help Pastor Paulino Verdilheiro with a printing press. However, Samuel Johnson replied saying the greatest need he saw was a better Bible College, of which Stahlberg agreed with.¹¹⁹¹

The transition from the Swedish Philadelphia Assemblies to the American Assembly of God World Missions was not peaceful amongst the Swedish missionaries still serving the Portuguese Assemblies of God. António Costa Barata is a retired pastor of the AoG denomination who writes about the field of Portuguese Christian historiography. In a telephonic conversation he claimed that Ernest Newman was opposed to the idea of transition from the Swedish to the American mission support,¹¹⁹² which Samuel Johnson confirmed¹¹⁹³ in an email.¹¹⁹⁴

Substantial foreign mission support was given to the American missionaries in Portugal by the Assembly of God World Missions based in the United States during the

1190 Ibid.

1191 Da Silva, F. C., *Telephonic Interview with Dr Samuel Johnson*, (Held on 1 April, 2014 at 02:44 pm).

1192 Da Silva, F. C., *Telephonic Interview with Pastor António da Costa Barata*, (Held on 1 April, 2014 at 3:19 pm).

1193 Thanks for the surprise phone call. To clarify your question, the reasons that Brother Stahlberg invited me to come to Portugal were as follows: The invitation came after several trips, if not many, to Portugal, preaching in every venue that the AoG offered, as well as the Lisbon [Assembly of God] church on many occasions. Thus, a relationship was established based on my Heritage, no doubt, but more than that, it was based on my strong preaching, personality, and Biblical Expository. Out of the relationship came the potential for the AoG USA, through me, to establish a Bible School in Portugal, and not only that, but to physically move to Portugal and direct the school. The culmination of many conversations was the written invitation of the Pastors while in session and signed by all of them, for me to come to Portugal and establish the school. I had plenty to do in Spain, as we had already developed the ICI, not only for Spain but also for Portugal. But, I felt that I should accept the invitation to help fill the empty pulpits with trained young men and women. Also, he was interested in our help with the whole printing idea, in conjunction with the vision at that time of Brother Paulino. I hope that this further adds to our phone conversation this morning. Because of the Bible School, hundreds of young men and women have been strengthen in their faith for the sake of the Gospel.

1194 Johnson, Samuel, *To clarify your question, the reasons that Brother Stahlberg invited me to come to Portugal*, (Letter: Received from Samuel Johnson - Executive Director, Priority One. Burnsville, Minnesota. [USA]. <http://www.priorityonemissions.com/>. Accessed on 2 April, 2014. Email received on 1 April, 2014 at 9:50 pm), p. [1].

transitional phase for democratic normalisation (1976-1985) and beyond. Samuel Johnson, Gordon Stanley Bialik, Leonard Frampton, Michael McNamee, Duane Henders, and Harry Osland were missionaries in Portugal who were supported by the Assembly of God World Missions and these missionaries were involved in the establishment of Mount Hope Bible Institute of Portugal (Instituto Bíblico de Portugal – Monte Esperança). John Garloch's report to the American Assemblies of God's headquarters illustrates how the Portuguese Assemblies of God leaders accepted foreign support,

There's no doubt that Portugal is totally an open door. I've never seen a group of nationals who are so concerned and still so honest and [openly speaking of the] absolute danger of the American influence and, at the same time, so brotherly to the point of acknowledging and admitting their need of help.¹¹⁹⁵

Another institution in the 1970s¹¹⁹⁶ that provided support for missionaries in Portugal was the European Christian Mission (ECM) which supported Allan Pallister and his family as missionaries to Portugal from its base in the United Kingdom. Pallister's task was to establish the University Bible Group (Grupo Bíblico Universitário – GBU) amongst university students in Coimbra.¹¹⁹⁷

In 1974 Don Crane was tasked with the establishment of the Portuguese Bible Institute (Instituto Bíblico Português – IBP) in Tojal and Dr Gerald Erickson was its director from 1974 to 2011.¹¹⁹⁸ The Greater Europe Mission based in the United States and Canada supported these missionaries.

Joseph Schepers and family were sent to establish the House on the Rock Juvenal Christian Centre Foundation (Fundação Centro Cristão Juvenil Casa Sobre a Rocha) in Lugar de Cadimas, Paranhos da Beira, in Seia in 1984 with Belgian support. The above mentioned humanitarian organization was involved with¹¹⁹⁹ “Social work activities for children and young people with accommodation”.¹²⁰⁰ In a telephonic conversation Mr

1195 Da Silva, F. C., *A Study of the Charismatic Movement in Portugal with Particular Reference to the Fraternal Association*, Op. cit., p. 85.

1196 Da Silva, F. C., *Telephonic Interview with Rev João Pedro Carvalho*, (Conducted on 1 April, 2014 at 4:19 pm).

1197 Burke, Karen, Ed., *Alan & Celeste Pallister*, (Information: ECM international online portal, <http://www.ecmi.org/>. Accessed on 2 July, 2015).

1198 [?], *História do IBP - Cronologia*, (Information: Instituto Bíblico Português (IBP), Associação Evangélica de Educação (AEE). S. Antão do Tojal, Portugal. <http://www.ibp-aee.org/>. Accessed on 2 April, 2014).

1199 Original text in Portugal: “Actividades de apoio social para crianças e jovens, com alojamento”.

1200 [?], *Fundação Centro Cristão Juvenil Casa Sobre A Rocha*, (Information: J. Scherspers. Lugar De Cadimas, Paranhos da Beira, Paranhos, Seia. [Portugal]. <http://www.portugalbiz.pt/>. Accessed on 3 April, 2014).

Joseph Schepers stated that his missionary work began in 1984 but since he has now retired “The work closed down”.¹²⁰¹

The Christian Literature International (Centro de Literatura Cristã – CLC) was established in Coimbra in 1985,¹²⁰² which according to its online portal, “Is an international organization committed to the distribution of the Bible, Christian books and a variety of Christian media”.¹²⁰³

The International Support Aid (Apoio Cristão International – ACI) was founded by Charles Brabrec, an Austrian citizen and a missionary still living in Portugal with his family,¹²⁰⁴ according to Pastor James Reimer (known as Jim Reimer).¹²⁰⁵ The ACI was a Christian organization no longer in existence “funded by American Churches to help refugees who had [returned] from former Portuguese colonies after they had gained independence”.¹²⁰⁶ As part of its ministry the ACI “Introduced new trends of Pentecostal and Charismatic experience”¹²⁰⁷ in Portugal where “Pastors of different Evangelical, Pentecostal and Charismatic backgrounds preached ... [and] interact[ed]”.¹²⁰⁸ Additionally, the ACI provided “An opportunity to minister and evangelize in the refugee camps”.¹²⁰⁹ While working at the ACI from April 1980 Rahil S. Khan met Jim Croft, an American pastor ministering at ACI, who invited him to visit the United States and introduced Khan to James Reimer who later settled with his family in Portugal as a missionary.

Khan was given the task of establishing the Overflowing Fountain Mission (Missão Fonte Transbordante)¹²¹⁰ in 1982. The following year Reimer was sent to settle¹²¹¹ in

1201 Da Silva, F. C., *Telephonic Interview with Mr. Joseph Schepers*, (Interview: held on 4 April, 2014, at 2:03 pm, from my cell phone to his cell phone).

1202 [?], *CLC International – Portugal*, (Information: CLC International, Centro de Literatura Cristã, Coimbra, [Portugal]. <http://clcinternational.org/>. Accessed on 2 April, 2014).

1203 Ibid.

1204 Da Silva, F. C., *Telephonic Interview with Rev James Reimer*, (Interview: held on 4 April, 2014 at 10:36 am from my cell phone to his cell phone).

1205 Ibid.

1206 Da Silva, F. C., *A Study of the Charismatic Movement in Portugal with Particular Reference to the Fraternal Association*, Op. cit., p. 112.

1207 Ibid.

1208 Ibid.

1209 Ibid.

1210 Da Silva, F. C., *A Study of the Charismatic Movement in Portugal with Particular Reference to the Fraternal Association*, Op. cit., p. 113.

1211 Da Silva, F. C., *Telephonic Interview with Rev James Reimer*, Op. cit.

Portugal and assist Khan. Both these missionaries were supported by Croft from America. Khan stated that in 1984, “Jim Reimer joined Jorge Tadeu to establish the Manna Church (Igreja Maná)¹²¹² ... and both came to my house to invite me to join them”.¹²¹³ However, Khan refused to join these pastors to establish the Manna Church; instead he returned to Mozambique where he became a prominent “politician”.¹²¹⁴ Khan adds,

I concluded that the Portuguese society was not ready to accept a black man as the senior pastor... That led me to come to my senses. I should, instead, pursue my political inclinations for the interest of Mozambique.¹²¹⁵

Subsequently, in “1985”,¹²¹⁶ Reimer parted company with Tadeu and travelled extensively across the country, ministering and encourage scholar raging the churches and in 1987 he established¹²¹⁷ the Logos Christian Fellowship (Logos Comunhão Cristã).

The above mentioned missionary activities demonstrate how the 1974 Revolution paved the way for religious proliferation within a rigid traditionally Roman Catholic society. Luís Aguiar Santos states in *O Protestantismo em Portugal (V): constantes e linhas de força*¹²¹⁸ that the Portuguese Evangelical/Pentecostal denominations continued to grow from 1976 to 1985. Protestant and Evangelical churches and congregations were established¹²¹⁹ “In virtually all municipalities”.¹²²⁰ Adding to this,¹²²¹ “The existence of a small market of cultural goods (such as bookstores, music and periodicals) specifically 'Evangelical' is a sign of some capacity already conquered for self-sustaining”.¹²²² Various religious institutions established in Portugal advanced the evangelistic efforts of the non-Roman Catholic denominations such as the Assemblies of God, particularly during the transitional phase for democratic normalization (1976-1985).

1212 *Maná Igreja Cristã*, (Information: Apóstolo Jorge Manuel Guerra Tadeu. Pontinha. Portugal. <http://www.igrejamana.com/>).

Accessed on 3 February, 2014).

1213 Da Silva, F. C., *Telephonic Interview with Mr. Rahil Khan*, (Interview: held on 4 April, 2014 at 8:35 am).

1214 Da Silva, F. C., *Telephonic Interview with Mr Rahil Khan*, Op. cit.

1215 Da Silva, F. C., *A Study of the Charismatic Movement in Portugal with Particular Reference to the Fraternal Association*, Op. cit., pp. 113-114.

1216 Da Silva, F. C., *Telephonic Interview with Rev James Reimer*, Op. cit.

1217 Ibid.

1218 Santos, Luís Aguiar, *O Protestantismo em Portugal (V): constantes e linhas de força*, (Op. cit.

1219 Original text in Portuguese: “virtualmente em todos os municípios”.

1220 Santos, Luís Aguiar, *O Protestantismo em Portugal (V): constantes e linhas de força*, Op. cit.

1221 Original text in Portuguese: “A existência de um pequeno mercado de produtos culturais especificamente ‘evangélicos’ (livrarias, música, periódicos) é sinal de alguma capacidade de autossuficiência”.

1222 Santos, Luís Aguiar, *O Protestantismo em Portugal (V): constantes e linhas de força*, Op. cit.

- Relevant religious institutions established in Portugal with foreign aid

The above mentioned Mount Hope Bible Institute of Portugal (Instituto Bíblico de Portugal Monte Esperança – MEIBAD) is an important institution established in Portugal, which is dedicated to theological education for Pentecostal leaders. Its history began in the National Convention of the Assemblies of God held in 1972 when the Portuguese AoG pastors invited Johnson to establish a Bible Institute in Portugal with the help of the American Assemblies of God.¹²²³ The MEIBAD online portal states,¹²²⁴

The first students arrived on 1 September, 1975 ... twenty-five students ... and others came to join them in January for the second semester. The construction of buildings continued and on 23 January, 1976 representatives of the Assemblies of God in Europe visited the premises as well as pastors from all over Portugal ... for the consecration service.¹²²⁵

From 1975 until 1989 this Bible Institute was affiliated to the Portuguese Assemblies of God but Principals were missionaries of the American Assemblies of God such as, “Samuel H. Johnson, Roland Dudley, Duane Henders and Harry Osland.”¹²²⁶ Until 1997¹²²⁷ “Mount Hope had 565 graduates”¹²²⁸ most of whom are Pentecostal ministers serving all over the world.

In 1976 Johnson established the International Correspondence Institute (Instituto de Correspondência Internacional – ICI), a correspondence Bible School which operated from the same premises at Mount Hope. The Portuguese ICI is now linked to the Global University USA¹²²⁹ and maintains its Portuguese operation at Mount Hope, according to Pastor Paulo Branco the then Principal of MEIBAD.¹²³⁰

1223 [?], *História – 1975 Novas instalações*, (Information: Monte Esperança Instituto Bíblico – Convenção Nacional das Assembleias de Deus. Fanhões, [Portugal]. <http://www.meibad.org/>. Accessed on 25 April, 2014).

1224 Original text in Portuguese: “Os primeiros alunos chegaram no dia 1 de Setembro de 1975 começando as aulas ... com vinte e cinco alunos ... juntando-se-lhes outros em Janeiro, para o segundo semestre. A construção de edifícios continuou durante Janeiro de 1976. No dia 23 desse mesmo mês e ano, representantes das assembleias de deus da Europa, pastores de todo o Portugal e centenas de irmãos e irmãs, bem como amigos reuniram-se para o culto de consagração”.

1225 [?], *História – 1975 Novas instalações*, Op. cit.

1226 [?], *História – 1975 Novas instalações*, Op. cit.

1227 Original text in Portuguese: “passaram pelo Monte Esperança 565 alunos”.

1228 [?], *História – 1975 Novas instalações*, Op. cit.

1229 *Global University - Universidade Global*. Instituto de Correspondência Internacional. Springfield, Missouri, USA. www.globaluniversity.edu. Accessed on 25 April, 2014).

1230 Da Silva, F. C., *Telephonic Interview with Rev Dr Paulo Branco*, (Conducted on 25 April, 2014 at 3:48 pm).

An organization that came into being after the 1974 Revolution was Teen Challenge. Teen Challenge was established¹²³¹ by Pastor David Wilkerson in 1958 in New York (USA) as the American Assemblies of God's rehabilitation programme to help drug addicted young people. As a result of the 1974 Revolution, the Portuguese Assemblies of God supported Pastor Joaquim Lucas da Silva to establish Teen Challenge Portugal (Desafio Jovem Portugal) in 1978,¹²³² which also had the support of the Red Cross. This organization became increasingly relevant in Portuguese society,¹²³³

In 1978, the Assemblies of God of Portugal, by the initiative of Pastor Lucas da Silva, in cooperation with the Portuguese Red Cross and with the help of many other churches in Portugal, acquired a farm that would be the first Teen Challenge Therapeutic Community.¹²³⁴

The flexibility experienced by the Portuguese citizens as a consequence of the democratic transformation provided by the 1974 Revolution had a significant impact on the transformation of many traditional Pentecostals into Charismatics as discussed below.

- Major contributions to the transformation of Portuguese Pentecostalism into a Charismatic Movement

There are several major contributors to the shift from traditional Pentecostal Christian expression to a new Charismatic vision in Portugal experienced from 1976 to 1985 including Ministers of religion who played an important role such as James Reimer who “Had the vision to introduce the Portuguese Pentecostal pastors to the new trends and characteristics of a Charismatic nature”.¹²³⁵ Experienced with the new trends of American Pentecostalism known as the Charismatic Movement, Reimer invited the Portuguese Pentecostal pastors to “informal meetings”,¹²³⁶ in which Jorge Tadeu “Participated in these meetings”.¹²³⁷ Reimer's Charismatic leadership meetings

1231 [?], *The History of Teen Challenge*, (Information: Teen Challenge International, USA. Ozark, USA. <http://teenchallengeusa.com/>. Accessed on 25 April, 2014).

1232 [?], *História: DJ em Portugal*, (Information: Desafio Jovem (Teen Challenge), Fanhões, [Portugal]. <http://www.desafiojovem.com/>. Accessed on 25 April, 2014).

1233 Original text in Portuguese: “Em 1978, as Assembleias de Deus de Portugal, pela iniciativa do Pastor Lucas da Silva, em cooperação com a Cruz Vermelha Portuguesa e com a ajuda de muitas outras igrejas em Portugal, adquiriram uma quinta que viria a ser a primeira Comunidade Terapêutica do Desafio Jovem”.

1234 [?], *História: DJ em Portugal*, Op. cit.

1235 Da Silva. F. C., *A Study of the Charismatic Movement in Portugal with Particular Reference to the Fraternal Association*, Op. cit., p. 114.

1236 Ibid.

1237 Ibid.

“Introduced new doctrinal Charismatic concepts as well as a different approach to ecclesiology”.¹²³⁸ In addition, the new theological information

Aroused a new spiritual desire among the ministers; with this new information, the pressure to change was mounting. Resistance was only to the point of checking the new trends against the Scriptures... Most of new trends became new convictions and the inevitable rupture with what they considered an outdated traditional Pentecostalism became imminent.¹²³⁹

Reverend Carlos Jorge da Gama Cardoso is the senior pastor of Fountain of Living Waters Christian Church (Igreja Cristã Manancial de Águas Vivas – ICMAV) and participated in the above mentioned Reimer’s meetings held by Reimer. Cardoso stated,

One of the factors I consider to be essential is the presence of Pastor Jim Reimer and that of Pastor Jorge Tadeu in Portugal. Both pastors initiated [these Charismatic leadership] meetings at which many pastors were assisted. These were leaders of various quadrants of the Portuguese [Pentecostal] ... panorama, including pastors from the Assemblies of God.¹²⁴⁰

In addition, the Praise and Worship conferences led by the Chris Bowater and organised by Óscar Segura in the Algarve “Were crucial for the Pentecostal metamorphosis into a multiform Charismatic Movement”.¹²⁴¹ Segura pointed out,

Praise, above all, brought a great change to the Movement of the Assemblies of God. I think the fact that everybody was going to praise conferences impacted the Movement... Today, everybody says the two conferences I organized in Algarve were in the origin of the changes in terms of praise and worship in Portugal ... with Chris Bowater.¹²⁴²

Another reformer of Portuguese Pentecostalism was Pastor Leonel Ferreira “Who settled in Portugal in the mid-eighties”.¹²⁴³ The “leadership seminars he organized provided [Charismatic] information”¹²⁴⁴ which awaken a desire in Portuguese Pentecostal pastors to acquire new knowledge regarding Charismatic views. Consequently, as the Portuguese borders opened they travelled across Europe to participate in Charismatic conferences, which are mentioned by Segura,

The ‘Euro Fire’ Conferences held in Germany [and in England by Reinhard Bonkne] were a motive for some Assemblies of God pastors to visit those countries and participate in those conferences. And there, they started seeing new things, at least new for us, which contributed to the anticipation of change... Things related to the spiritual biblical experiences, the movement of the Spirit.¹²⁴⁵

1238 Ibid.

1239 Ibid.

1240 Ibid.

1241 Ibid.

1242 Ibid., p. 116.

1243 Ibid., p. 114.

1244 Ibid.

1245 Ibid.

The Portuguese religious physiognomy was shifting, absorbing new trends of international Christian expression, while new Pentecostal and Charismatic denominations were being established in Portugal.

3.3.4.2 List of the Pentecostal/Charismatic denominations established from 1976 to 1985

While liberty and democracy was being implemented for the first time in her history, Portugal was opened to religious pluralism during the period 1976 to 1985. The four Charismatic denominations were established in the country which demonstrates how the Portuguese society was prepared for new Charismatic international trends. However, for historiography purposes the only church of the following four that closed down was the only one which was founded with foreign aid. The Charismatic churches established post 1974 Revolution from 1976 to 1985 are the following. The Maranatha Christian Church (Igreja Cristã Maranata)¹²⁴⁶ “Was officially established in 1978”¹²⁴⁷ and continues its ministry to this day. The Overflowing Fountain Mission (Missão Fonte Transbordante) was established in “1982”,¹²⁴⁸ however, this church was closed down in 1985. The Manna Church (Maná Igreja Cristã)¹²⁴⁹ was founded¹²⁵⁰ “in September 1984 and was officially registered in 1986”¹²⁵¹ and continued to grow exponentially both in Portugal and abroad. Another significant church established in Portugal in the mid-eighties was the Evangelical Charismatic Church of Christ Charisma “Igreja de Cristo Evangélica Carismática – Khárisma”¹²⁵² was established in the Porto region by Pastor Leonel Ferreira.

3.4 SUMMARY OF CHAPTER THREE

This chapter focussed on the transitional phase for democratic normalisation from 1976 to 1985 including two major contributors to the adoption by the Portuguese society of the

1246 Original text in Portuguese: “A Igreja Cristã Maranata [ICM] foi constituída oficialmente em 1978”.

1247 [?], *Quem Somos*, (Article in: Igreja Cristã Maranata online portal. Porto. [Portugal]. <http://www.icmaranata.pt/quemsomos.php>. Accessed on May 7, 2014).

1248 Da Silva, F. C., *Telephonic Interview with Pastor James Reimer*, Op. cit.

1249 *Maná Igreja Cristã*, Op. cit.

1250 Original text in Portugal: “A Igreja Maná foi fundada em Setembro de 1984, oficialmente registada em 1986”.

1251 [?], *Igreja Maná: Elementos de Identificação*, (Information: Santo Antão do Tojal. Loures. Portugal, online portal, <http://www.igrejamana.com/>. Accessed on 3 February, 2014).

1252 [?], *Igreja de Cristo Evangélica Carismática – Khárisma*, (Information: Pastor Leonel Ferreira. Vila Nova de Gaia, Porto, Portugal. <http://guialocal.pt/>. Accessed on April 5, 2014).

principle of freedom of religion. The two major contributors to religious freedom that were discussed in the chapter were the *1982 Constitutional Revision* and the process towards the adhesion of Portugal to be a member state of the EEC. In addition, this chapter presented the establishment of global Christianity and the role played by foreign missions in changing Portuguese Christianity.

The transformation of the Portuguese society during the transitional phase for democratic normalisation from 1976 to 1985 was studied in Chapter Three which underlined the social and economic development while Portugal committed to respect human rights according to the international documents emanating from the United Nations and the EEC. However, the fact that the concept of religious freedom faced obstacles was also perused in this chapter and the 1982 Constitutional Revision was discussed and shows that it was approved to alter problems posed by Communist ideology. Additionally, a report on how the principle of religious freedom was addressed in the *1982 Constitutional Revision* was made. Evidence of legislation regarding religion remained in place until Decree-Law No. 5/83 of 31 January 1983 (*Decreto Regulamentar nº 5/83 de 31 de Janeiro*) revised the previous *Acts*, and the fact that little benefits were attributed to the non-Roman Catholics is discussed.

Religious proliferation came under scrutiny as the result of the process of Portugal's adhesion to the EEC where she was required to adopt *The European Convention on Human Rights*. Consequently, conditions became favourable towards the religious transformation of the Portuguese nation resulting in religious proliferation which was discussed in-depth in thesis chapter. A comprehensive analysis of Portugal's transformation into a secular state as well as its preparation to become a member state of the EEC was described. The role of globalisation in liberalising the Portuguese society was considered as well as the establishment of world missions that brought in the Charismatic school of thought.

Although this study investigated the impact of the 1974 Revolution on religious freedom it was necessary in this chapter to discuss the role played by television, specifically Brazilian soap operas. This chapter showed how these soap operas widened the horizon of the Portuguese society to accept diverse religious views.

Next, Chapter Four is a discussion on the conservative modernisation period from 1986 to 1997 which includes the *1989* as well as the *1992 Constitutional Revisions*.

CHAPTER 4

THE CONSERVATIVE MODERNIZATION PERIOD (1986-1997)

Chapter four discusses the conservative modernization period from 1989 to 1997 which includes the reasons for the *1989* and *1992 Constitutional Revisions* as well as a critical analysis of the Portuguese nation's meaning and consequences of the EEC's membership. The transitional period to develop the country into modernity (1986-1991) is discussed which includes the birth of the new Portuguese EU identity. As the national objectives shifted Portugal revised its *Constitution* in 1989 but she had to revise it again in 1992 to accommodate the *Treaty of Maastricht* which converted the EEC into the EU. The way is paved for Portugal to welcome modernity and religious liberty is addressed as part of the EU integration process enforced by the EU's legislation and ethos. However, it is important to emphasise that this situation came about as a direct impact of the 1974 Revolution.

On 1 January, 1986 Portugal became a member state of the Economic European Community (EEC) and celebrations demonstrated that the efforts to pursue the European dream were now a reality. However, the country needed modernization after the transitional phase for democratic normalization which the period of conservative modernization (1986-1997) aimed to provide. The EEC's legislation and regulations were to be adopted in Portugal, thus the *1989* and the *1992 Constitutional Revisions* were effected which resulted in a clearer position concerning religious freedom. Consequently, the Portuguese society continued to develop respect for human rights including religious freedom as part of the implications of European legislation and ethos being applied in the country. Major Pentecostal/Charismatic events encouraged religious proliferation but differences on state policy concerning the Roman Catholic versus other religious confessions still persisted. Portugal was being positioned according to EEC's legislation and ethos on freedom of religion, which would have not been possible if it were not for the 1974 Revolution.

4.1 THE MEANING OF THE EEC'S MEMBERSHIP TO THE PORTUGUESE NATION

By becoming a member state of the EEC, Portugal engaged not only in its own transformation into modernity but also in the transformation of the EEC into the European Union (EU), which was entrenched in the *Maastricht Treaty*. The Portuguese membership of the EEC benefited the affirmation of the principle of freedom of religion in Portuguese legislation as well as its manifestation in politics and society. However, a brief history of the EEC will serve as a background of the following discussion on the Portuguese modernization process which will be addressed in this section of this study.

4.1.1 BRIEF HISTORY OF THE EEC AND WHAT IT REQUIRED FOR PORTUGAL TO BECOME A MEMBER STATE

A brief history of the EEC¹²⁵³ helps to understand the type of political international organization Portugal adhered to in 1 January 1986. After the Second World War from 1945 to 1959 peaceful Europe begins to cooperate in various forms and by diverse organizations leading to the *Treaty of Rome* which establishes the EEC in 1957 which was also known as Common Market. From 1960 to 1969 the EEC experienced economic growth and from 1970 to 1979 other countries joined and the EEC's membership was enlarged. From 1980 to 1989 the face of Europe changed of which the fall of the Berlin Wall is illustrative, a period that includes "A vast six-year program aimed at sorting out the problems with the free-flow of trade across EU borders and thus creates the 'Single Market'".¹²⁵⁴ From 1990 to 1999 the European countries open their borders and in 1992 the *Maastricht Treaty* converted the European Economic Community (EEC) into the "European Union".¹²⁵⁵

Being part of the EEC's member states meant definitive democratic consolidation had to be made according to the European Council directive, "A pluralist democracy was established",¹²⁵⁶ as António Costa Pinto puts it in *Portugal and European integration –*

1253 [?], *The history of the European Union, The Founding Fathers of the EU*, (Information: EU online portal, <http://europa.eu/>).

Accessed on 4 July, 2015).

1254 Ibid.

1255 Ibid.

1256 Pinto, António Costa, *Portugal and European integration – An introduction*, (Article: Institute of European Studies. University of California-Berkeley. November 1-2, 2002. <http://ies.berkeley.edu/>. Accessed on 7 April, 2014), p. 9.

An introduction. Portugal benefited from economical support but EEC's integration required "Successful consolidation of a 'democratic tradition' that was based on the 'synchronization and homogenization of national cultures and institutions, with those of Europe'".¹²⁵⁷ The accession criteria known as the "Copenhagen Criteria" included all requirements and conditions set "by Article 49 and the principles laid down in Article 6(1) of the Treaty on European Union"¹²⁵⁸ also known as the "Accession criteria (Copenhagen criteria)".¹²⁵⁹ The Accession criteria include adjustments in the political and in the economic areas as well as to "acceptance of the Community *acquis*".¹²⁶⁰ It was not only Portugal that was in the process of transformation but also the European Economic Community (EEC), which by the *Maastricht Treaty* converted the EEC into the European Union (EU).

4.1.2 IMMEDIATE CONSEQUENCES OF THE EEC'S PORTUGUESE MEMBERSHIP

The Portuguese authorities were under continued pressure to take cognisance of human rights and the principle of religious freedom in legislation as well as in policy after the country became a member state of the EEC. The Portuguese adhesion was a victory of the 1974 Revolution and a consequence of the steps taken to redefine the Portuguese regime during the transitional phase for democratic normalization (1976-1985). The fact that Portugal was one of the EEC's member states had national and social significance and citizens welcomed their new found identity as Europeans.

4.1.2.1 The abolition of borders within Europe

With Portugal joining the EU it meant that Portugal had access to all EU member states. Procedures and rules had to be harmonized; thus, the "Schengen Border Code".¹²⁶¹ The psychological effect of this achievement had a positive effect on the Portuguese who realised that their movements were no longer restricted to Portugal. This had a consequence for their religious identity as well. Portuguese believers of various faiths could travel across Europe to participate in religious conferences with no need of a visa.

¹²⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 10.

¹²⁵⁸ [?], *Accession criteria (Copenhagen criteria)*, (Dictionary: Europa – Synthèses de la Législation. Sv Customs.

http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/. Accessed on 7 April, 2014).

¹²⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹²⁶¹ [?], *Border crossing*, (Information: European Commission, Home Affairs. <http://ec.europa.eu/>. Accessed on 8 April, 2014).

A new Portuguese national ideal replaced their previous marginalization by the rest of Europe as Kenneth Maxwell describes in *Portugal in the 1980's: Dilemmas of Democratic Consolidation*,

The...reason why the mid-1980s marks an important turning point is that on 1 January, 1986, Portugal was acceded to the European Community. Accession to the EEC marks the termination of a secular pattern in Portugal's international posture, a posture which has since 1415 been oceanic, directed overseas, turning away from Europe and above all away from Spain.¹²⁶²

Portugal was proud to adapt to EEC's values, ethos and significance during the transition period and to develop the country into modernity (1986-1991) permitted by the EEC directives which included the principle of freedom of religion while Portuguese democracy was definitively consolidated with the presidential succession in 1986, as Maxwell states, "The presidential succession in 1986...is a vital component in the process of democratic consolidation".¹²⁶³ Portugal was a new democracy and "New democracies are precisely democracies without tradition or precedent".¹²⁶⁴ The Portuguese dream carried from the 1974 Revolution had been reached and as Stewart Lloyd-Jones states in *Portugal's history since 1974*, "No longer with its back to Europe, Portugal is now a modern European democracy. It has abandoned its previous isolation and has re-established good relations with its neighbours and former colonies".¹²⁶⁵ Portugal adapts to the political, economic, social, and cultural fusion absorbing legislation and the ethos of the EEC.

4.1.2.2 The national and social significance of the Portuguese EEC's membership

By becoming a member state of the EEC, Portugal exposed its society to a new economic openness in which the confidence of the population increased with the realization of social rights such as housing, health and education. There was considerable economic growth¹²⁶⁶ due to the increase exports of Portuguese products as well as by the domestic consumption in the country. Sebastián Royo points out in *Portugal and Spain in the EU: paths of economic divergence (2000-2007)* that "For Spain, Portugal, and their European Community (EC) partners this momentous and long awaited development had profound

¹²⁶² Maxwell, Kenneth, *Portugal in the 1980's: Dilemmas of Democratic Consolidation*, Op. cit., p. 11.

¹²⁶³ Ibid., p. 10.

¹²⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 13.

¹²⁶⁵ Lloyd-Jones, Stewart, *Portugal's history since 1974*, Op. cit., p. 15.

¹²⁶⁶ [?], *A Entrada de Portugal na CEE*, (Information: Opúsculo.com. 2010-2014. <http://www.opusculo.com/>. Accessed on 6 April, 2014).

consequences and set in motion complex processes of adjustment”.¹²⁶⁷ Portugal was a member state of the EEC and shared the common intellectual values, culture, traditions and Christian religion as with the rest of European countries. The Portuguese nation “Contributed to the Christian occidental conceptualizations of mankind and society dominant in Europe ... [without which the] European identity would only be a reflection of an incomplete body”.¹²⁶⁸ Portugal “belonged to Europe”,¹²⁶⁹ and its membership to the EEC “was a reaffirmation of the fact”,¹²⁷⁰ permitting the country to recover her “own cultural identity”.¹²⁷¹

Portuguese politicians and economists had to “adopt economic policies and business strategies consistent with membership and the *acquis communautaire* ... in a context of strong support among Iberian citizens for integration”.¹²⁷² However, European integration implied “Economic adjustment and loss of sovereignty”,¹²⁷³ as well as “significant steps to align their legislation on ... policies to that of the European Community”.¹²⁷⁴ Therefore, Portugal entered a

Significant transition period to cushion the negative effects of integration... Since 1986 the Portuguese and Spanish economies have undergone profound economic changes. [EEC] membership has led to policy and institutional reforms... These changes have led to deep processes of structural reforms.¹²⁷⁵

José Carlos Almeida argues in *Portugal, o Atlântico e a Europa: A Identidade Nacional, a (re)imaginação da Nação e a Construção Europeia* that¹²⁷⁶ “In 1986 Portugal joined the European Community, contributing significantly to the economic development and the construction of a capitalist *ethos* in Portuguese society”.¹²⁷⁷ However, a transitional period to develop the country into modernity was required.

1267 Royo, Sebastián, *Portugal and Spain in the EU: paths of economic divergence (2000-2007)*, (Article: Scielo Portugal. Análise Social, versão impressa ISSN 0003-2573. Instituto de Ciências Sociais, da Universidade de Lisboa. Lisbon, [Portugal]. 2014), pp. 209-210.

1268 Ibid., p. 210.

1269 Ibid.

1270 Ibid.

1271 Ibid.

1272 Ibid., p. 212.

1273 Ibid., p. 213.

1274 Ibid.

1275 Ibid.

1276 Original text in Portuguese: “Em 1986 Portugal aderiu à Comunidade Europeia, contribuindo significativamente para o seu desenvolvimento económico e para a construção dum *ethos* capitalista na sociedade portuguesa”.

1277 Almeida, José Carlos, *Portugal, o Atlântico e a Europa: A Identidade Nacional, a (re)imaginação da Nação e a Construção Europeia*, (Article: Revista Nação e Defesa. Primavera 2004. N.º 107 - 2.ª Série. [?]), p. 149.

4.1.3 THE TRANSITION PERIOD TO DEVELOP THE COUNTRY INTO MODERNITY (1986-1991)

During the period from 1986 to 1991 Portugal was expected to modernise the country. During this process of adaptation, the Portuguese citizens were granted a new identity as members of the EEC.

4.1.3.1 The birth of a new Portuguese European identity

The 1974 Revolution propelled Portugal into the situation where she experienced a new identity under the EEC. National identity was negotiated and its symbols transformed as well as the discourses on meanings and values to adapt the nation to new realities, needs, and historic experiences which “Appears to be largely accepted”¹²⁷⁸ by citizens, according to José Carlos Almeida in *Portugal, o Atlântico e a Europa: A Identidade Nacional, a (re)imaginação da Nação e a Construção Europeia*.¹²⁷⁹ Portugal transformed into a “Post-colonial, modern, open and capitalist society, the nation has been reproduced and re-imagined on new bases”.¹²⁸⁰ Consequently, from 1986 to 1997 the loyalty of the Portuguese people to the nation is reaffirmed while their relationship with Europe is reconstructed.¹²⁸¹ The greatest challenge to Portuguese authorities, however, is how to conciliate and manage a nation-state with such a rich historical national identity to a European diverse culture of local identities determined to build a transnational common,¹²⁸² “European identity”.¹²⁸³

The idea is not to build a totally new constructionist and modern social European unit, but rather one that is based on a historical approach and symbolically ethnocentric, which appeals to flexible and open models. Almeida points out,¹²⁸⁴ “The nation is a form of collective organization based in some kind of historical continuity ... in a framework of

¹²⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁷⁹ Original text in Portuguese: “parece ser grandemente aceite”.

¹²⁸⁰ Almeida, José Carlos, *Portugal, o Atlântico e a Europa: A Identidade Nacional, a (re)imaginação da Nação e a Construção Europeia*, Op. cit.

¹²⁸¹ Ibid.

¹²⁸² Original text in Portuguese: “identidade europeia”.

¹²⁸³ Almeida, José Carlos, *Portugal, o Atlântico e a Europa: A Identidade Nacional, a (re)imaginação da Nação e a Construção Europeia*, Op. cit.

¹²⁸⁴ Original text in Portuguese: “a nação é uma forma de organização coletiva baseada nalgum tipo de continuidade histórica num quadro de análise que diga respeito a nacionalismos em vez de nacionalismo”.

analysis that relates to nationalisms rather than nationalism”.¹²⁸⁵ This type of modern nation based on symbolic ethnocentrism becomes, according to Almeida,¹²⁸⁶ “[A] nation is the centre of affiliation and identity and mobilization ... particularly in relation to the role of the history of mobilization during great moments of (re) building the nation”.¹²⁸⁷ The result of profound change in certain historical circumstances is the alteration of the national identity within which the sense of community is rebuilt. However, in the case of Portugal it was difficult to apply because the question of national identity has often been taken for granted.¹²⁸⁸ National identity includes a notion of social self-understanding, common commitments and objectives, as well as a common framework of thought and cultural memories. Therefore, the continued reconstruction of a communal identity is the result of the general environment as the community faces new challenges and threats.¹²⁸⁹ Since the 1974 Revolution, reconstruction of a communal identity continued during the period from 1986 to 1997.

In the case of Portugal there was a mounting challenge and threat to national identity after 1986, the pressure could have resulted in a weakened national identity, or alternatively the national identity could have been lost. Almeida states,¹²⁹⁰ “This results from a weakening of national borders caused by the creation of trans-national areas in various parts of the world, or due to changes in the traditional system of values”.¹²⁹¹ The transformation of the Portuguese society has not only been under EEC pressure but also from globalization,¹²⁹² “Along with global changes, the nations also suffer particular challenges”.¹²⁹³ Salazar developed and coined the phrase of¹²⁹⁴ “proudly alone”,¹²⁹⁵

1285 Almeida, José Carlos, *Portugal, o Atlântico e a Europa: A Identidade Nacional, a (re)imaginação da Nação e a Construção Europeia*, Op. cit., p. 150.

1286 Original text in Portuguese: “[uma] nação enquanto polo de afiliação de identidade e mobilização... nomeadamente, em relação ao papel da mobilização da história em grandes momentos de (re)construção da nação. Portugal é um dos países em que a questão da identidade nacional tem sido, frequentemente, tida como garantida”.

1287 Almeida, José Carlos, *Portugal, o Atlântico e a Europa: A Identidade Nacional, a (re)imaginação da Nação e a Construção Europeia*, Op. cit.

1288 Ibid.

1289 Ibid., p. 151.

1290 Original text in Portuguese: “Isto resulta dum enfraquecimento das fronteiras nacionais causado pela criação em várias partes do mundo de áreas transnacionais, ou devido a mudanças no sistema tradicional de valores”.

1291 Almeida, José Carlos, *Portugal, o Atlântico e a Europa: A Identidade Nacional, a (re)imaginação da Nação e a Construção Europeia*, Op. cit., p. 153.

1292 Original text in Portuguese: “Juntamente com mudanças globais, as nações sofrem também desafios particulares”.

1293 Almeida, José Carlos, *Portugal, o Atlântico e a Europa: A Identidade Nacional, a (re)imaginação da Nação e a Construção Europeia*, Op. cit.

1294 Original text in Portuguese: “orgulhosamente sós”.

which favoured isolation from Europe and the world and developed an antagonist attitude towards modern civilization,¹²⁹⁶

A nationalism based on the reaction to liberal democracy and to the technicality that created the mass civilization. For the regime, the salvation of Europe depended on the reversal of individualism, materialistic civilization and the irrationality of liberal dogma.¹²⁹⁷

Almeida argues that¹²⁹⁸ “In Portugal, the spiritual wealth, more than the industrial progress was underlined by the regime, as the backbone of the nation's power”.¹²⁹⁹ However, Salazar’s spiritual wealth meant traditional Catholicism, which no longer was part of the new public discourse from 1986 to 1997. The preferred words of the new regime’s discourse were liberty, democracy and modernity which were pre-requisites of the European legislative and directives.

4.1.3.2 The pressure of EEC’s Legislative Directives on issues related to religious freedom

The process of integration as a member state of the EEC required Portugal to adapt its legislation to protect society, but specific policies should be “Directed to ethnic and cultural groups”,¹³⁰⁰ according to Bruno Dias, Tiago Farinha, and Elisa Silva in *Portugal: RAXEN National Focal Point Thematic Study - Housing Conditions of Roma and Travellers*. However, Dias *et al* argue that such provision is not made by the “Portuguese Constitution”¹³⁰¹ as is the case of the Roma gipsy community living for five hundred years in Portugal. The problem was that Portuguese legislation continued to ignore minorities and ethnic differences as Dias *et al* state, “Law and policy-making in Portugal

1295 Almeida, José Carlos, *Portugal, o Atlântico e a Europa: A Identidade Nacional, a (re)imaginação da Nação e a Construção Europeia*, Op. cit.

1296 Original text in Portuguese: “um nacionalismo de reação à civilização baseada na democracia liberal e no tecnicismo que criou o *mass-man*. Para o regime, a salvação da Europa dependia da inversão do individualismo, da civilização materialista e da irracionalidade dos dogmas liberais”.

1297 Almeida, José Carlos, *Portugal, o Atlântico e a Europa: A Identidade Nacional, a (re)imaginação da Nação e a Construção Europeia*, Op. cit., p. 155.

1298 Original text in Portuguese: “em Portugal, a riqueza espiritual, mais do que o progresso industrial, era sublinhada, pelo regime, como a espinha dorsal do poder da nação”.

1299 Almeida, José Carlos, *Portugal, o Atlântico e a Europa: A Identidade Nacional, a (re)imaginação da Nação e a Construção Europeia*, Op. cit.

1300 Dias, Bruno, Tiago Farinha, and Elisa Silva, *Portugal: RAXEN National Focal Point Thematic Study - Housing Conditions of Roma and Travellers*, (Númera: Centro de Investigação em Ciências Sociais e Humanas. March 2009. <http://fra.europa.eu/>. Accessed on 7 April, 2014), p. 4.

1301 Ibid.

are not targeted to specific groups, and the definition of ethnic or national minority is not assigned in Portuguese law and institutions”.¹³⁰²

Portuguese social reality demonstrates that there are ethnic, religious and cultural minorities in the country with very specific problems and vulnerabilities waiting to be solved by some sort of state policies. Prior to the 1974 Revolution, these minorities were neither recognised nor taken into consideration. However, the 1974 Revolution made it possible for these minorities to be considered. One such minority was the Pentecostal Portuguese.

4.1.3.3 The contribution of Pentecostalism to Portuguese modernity

Portuguese Pentecostalism was present in the country since the beginning of the twentieth century in the form of the Assemblies of God but later in other forms as well and their denominations were established as a consequence of the 1974 Revolution. According to David Kristoffer Lannemyr Andersen in *From Victim to Victor: The rise of Pentecostalism in Brazil - an empirical study of reasons for growth* “Pentecostalism is...intensively relevant to this-worldly concerns and not merely another-worldly hope or sectarian religion of the oppressed”.¹³⁰³ This is true in Latin-American countries in which societies Pentecostalism is at the centre of social transformation precisely because of the “Positive changes in the lives of Pentecostal converts”.¹³⁰⁴ Consequently, Andersen argues that “Pentecostalism is a major force for social change and not a clinging to an outdated past for marginalized people”.¹³⁰⁵ Andersen adds that in present day’s world Pentecostalism is “One of the creative ways of dealing with new forms of life”,¹³⁰⁶

The Protestant [and Pentecostal] movement is the most numerically significant and culturally effective among the voluntary institutions trying to create order within the chaos of the ghetto. The visible and numerous independent store-front churches in the ghetto are clear signs of this.¹³⁰⁷

1302 Ibid.

1303 Andersen, David Kristoffer Lannemyr, *From Victim to Victor: The rise of Pentecostalism in Brazil - an empirical study of reasons for growth*, (Dissertation: Norwegian School of Theology. Oslo. Norway. 2012), p. 46.

1304 Ibid.

1305 Ibid.

1306 Ibid.

1307 Ibid.

Pentecostalism offers anchor solutions and hope “To problems arising out of the structural conditions which are beyond the power of individuals to alter”.¹³⁰⁸ Therefore, Pentecostalism is “An effective and future-oriented way of living life in this new era”.¹³⁰⁹

In *A Latin American Perspective on Mission in Europe* John Corrie points out that, “[In] European culture ... the decomposition of Christian values by the so called ‘acids of modernity’ has taken some three centuries ... [an] experience ... unique to European history”.¹³¹⁰ Corrie discusses how to re-evangelize the European continent and argues that “Postmodern Christians are open to the supernatural in a way the rationalists of the previous generation were not”.¹³¹¹ Consequently, “When Pentecostalism taps into this potential with an appropriate contextual approach ‘post-mission’ could really take off in Europe and the continent find itself being converted”.¹³¹² Obviously the Pentecostal faith presents a new way of being a Christian, of reading the *Bible* and a new way of experiencing church life, “New ways of being a church in a European context speak of ‘liquid church’, cell churches that are light and easily multiplied, and youth churches where denominational allegiance means nothing”.¹³¹³ Pentecostalism is flexible, informal and able to adapt in different ways as opposed to the Roman Catholic Church in Portugal,

Pentecostalism ... has a flexibility and informality that is remarkably adaptable, making it easier for it to contextualize its message and style in a way that the Roman Catholic Church with all its institutional structures and traditions cannot match.¹³¹⁴

Since the establishment of the Community of Countries of Portuguese Language (Comunidade de Países de Língua Portuguesa – CPLP) of which Portugal is a founding member state the country became increasingly subject to Brazilian culture by the migration of many Brazilians to Portugal but also through the Globo’s soap operas broadcast by Portuguese television stations. Due to the exponential growth of Pentecostalism in Brazil and particularly amongst the underprivileged classes of society many of those Brazilian emigrants arrived with their Pentecostal faith and either became members of existing Pentecostal churches or got involved in establishing their own. Noticeably, the Portuguese social conditions of the lower classes are almost similar to the

¹³⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹³¹⁰ Corrie, John, *A Latin American Perspective on Mission in Europe*, (Paper: Centre for Anglican Communion Studies, Selly Oak, Birmingham. [England]. [?]), p. 1.

¹³¹¹ Ibid., p. 18.

¹³¹² Ibid.

¹³¹³ Ibid.

¹³¹⁴ Ibid.

Brazilian, including the reality of immense “store-front” churches established across the country.

This social reality demanded EEC’s intervention to alter Portuguese legislation and practice for the rights of minorities to be respected as well as other fundamental aspects which the *1982 Constitutional Revision* did not address; thus, the *1989 Constitution Revision*.

4.2 THE 1989 CONSTITUTIONAL REVISION AND THE QUEST FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

From 1986 to 1997 Portugal was in the process of adopting conservative modernization which for its expression required another revision of the *Constitution* that happened in 1989. There was political stability, Portugal was a member state of the European Union and the economy was booming under the leadership of Prime-minister Aníbal Cavaco Silva. The whole outlook of the country was now very different from the political process initiated by the 1974 Revolution. The Constitutional text had to be revised to adapt to the new EU legislation as well as to the modernization demands of the economy because the Portuguese basic objective had changed.

4.2.1 THE SHIFT OF THE PORTUGUESE NATIONAL OBJECTIVE IN THE 1989 CONSTITUTIONAL REVISION

The *1989 Constitutional Revision* altered the legislation concerning the fundamental aim of the Portuguese society which is necessary for this thesis as it has an extraordinary impact on further religious proliferation that is addressed in the chapter. This discussion will include the comparison between the previous and the new national objectives as well as the two parallel pillars of Portuguese democracy which are the *Constitution* and the Government.

4.2.1.1 A comparison of the 1976 Constitution with the new national objectives of the Portuguese Government

There is a fundamental difference between the national objectives of the *1976 Constitution* and those of the *1989 Constitutional Revision*. As previously discussed in chapter two the *1976 Constitution* aimed at guiding the ‘Portuguese Republic in its transition to socialism’, as confirmed by Aurízia Anica in *Transformações na sociedade*

portuguesa e integração na CEE.¹³¹⁵ “The 1976 Constitution ... defined the Portuguese Republic as a democratic, pluralistic state in transition to socialism”.¹³¹⁶ However, the national objective expressed in the *1989 Constitutional Revision* replaced the ‘Portuguese Republic in transition to socialism’ with the aim to¹³¹⁷ “Build a social democracy of European standard”,¹³¹⁸ as Esmeraldina Veloso points out in *A análise da Política da Terceira Idade em Portugal, de 1976 a 2002*.

The Portuguese society was able to make the right choices of which the complete integration of EEC ethos had to be expressed in the Constitutional legislation of the country but the Government refused to continue the application of the social welfare state envisioned by the *1976 Constitution* and its *1982 Constitutional Revision*.

4.2.1.2 Antagonist forces concerning social welfare and the *1989 Constitutional Revision*

There were two antagonistic objectives present in the development of the Portuguese democracy which were related to social welfare in the *1982 Constitutional Revision*. The Government refused to apply the provisions of the *1982 Constitutional Revision* regarding the welfare state, as Veloso mentions,¹³¹⁹ “The creation of a welfare state, which would imply a very large involvement by the state in terms of social policies, either financially, politically and administratively”.¹³²⁰ The refusal of the Government to comply with the *1982 Constitutional Revision* resulted in that,¹³²¹

From 1976, the beginning of the period of 'normalization', the guidelines outlined in the revolutionary period and enshrined in the 1976 Constitution were not processed in full. The State had another purpose other than that stated in the Constitution, leading to a configuration ... of a parallel state.¹³²²

1315 Original text in Portuguese: “Com a transferência dos poderes na Guiné e Cabo Verde (1974), S. Tomé e Príncipe (1975), Moçambique (1975) e Angola (1975); encerrado o período revolucionário, com a aprovação da Constituição de 1976, na qual se definia a República Portuguesa como um Estado democrático, pluralista, em fase de transição para o socialismo”.

1316 Anica, Auzília, *Transformações na sociedade portuguesa e integração na CEE*, Op. Cit, p. 2.

1317 Original text in Portuguese: “construir uma social-democracia de tipo europeu”.

1318 Veloso, Esmeraldina, *A análise da Política da Terceira Idade em Portugal, de 1976 a 2002*, (Paper: Apresentação no VI Congresso Português de Sociologia. <http://www.aps.pt/>. Accessed on 12 April, 2014), p. 5.

1319 Original text in Portuguese: “A Constituição de 76 preconizava a criação de um Estado-providência, o que implicaria um envolvimento muito grande, por parte do Estado ao nível das políticas sociais, quer seja financeira, política e administrativamente”.

1320 Veloso, Esmeraldina, *A análise da Política da Terceira Idade em Portugal, de 1976 a 2002*, Op. Cit, p. 5.

1321 Original text in Portuguese: “A partir de 1976, início do período de «normalização», as orientações delineadas no período revolucionário e consagradas na Constituição de 1976 não foram efetivamente realizadas na íntegra. O Estado tinha outro objetivo diferente do estabelecido na referida Constituição, conduzindo a uma configuração ... de Estado paralelo”.

1322 Veloso, Esmeraldina, *A análise da Política da Terceira Idade em Portugal, de 1976 a 2002*, Op. cit. p. 5.

It became evident since the first Constitutional Government that in political terms the objective of the State was to re-establish the gathering of capital and to¹³²³ “Build a social democracy of European type”.¹³²⁴ The characteristic of this ‘parallel state’ mentioned by Veloso was,¹³²⁵

A constitutional State concerned with the construction of a modern capitalist democracy when the Constitution provided for a classless socialist society. This feature of the parallel State lasted until 1989, when the second constitutional revision eliminated the last vestiges of the socialist program.¹³²⁶

One of the most important areas of revision was the ideological Communist principles removed in the *1989 Constitutional Revision*. The *1976 Constitution* sought to articulate democracy with socialist ideals attempting to achieve popular power because the Portuguese state was conceived of as a Republic committed to be transformed into a classless society and in transition to socialism. However, in *Revolution and Counterrevolution in Portugal* Martin Kayman states that “Democratic freedoms (civic, press, union, strike, property, etc.) were all guaranteed in full”,¹³²⁷ which were signs of a democracy of the European type. As a member state of the EEC the country could no longer permit Communist ideology in her *Constitution* when the national aim had definitively shifted towards the EEC ideals. As Jorge Miranda states in *A Constituição e a Democracia Portuguesa*,¹³²⁸ “Focused on economic organization, the 1989 Constitution did not, however, get exhausted [and it] almost [made a] complete suppression of the ideological-proclaiming entries still left after 1982”.¹³²⁹ Some “features of the Portuguese welfare state”¹³³⁰ persisting in the economy as well as state owned companies some of which had been nationalised after the 1974 *coup* needed to be privatised. According to Robert M. Fishman in *Legacies of Democratizing Reform and Revolution: Portugal and Spain Compared*,

1323 Original text in Portuguese: “construir uma social-democracia de tipo europeu”.

1324 Veloso, Esmeraldina, *A análise da Política da Terceira Idade em Portugal, de 1976 a 2002*, Op. cit., p. 5.

1325 Original text in Portuguese: “Um Estado constitucional preocupado com a construção de uma democracia capitalista moderna quando a Constituição previa uma sociedade socialista sem classes. Esta característica do Estado paralelo durou até 1989, altura em que a segunda revisão constitucional eliminou os últimos vestígios do programa socialista”.

1326 Veloso, Esmeraldina, *A análise da Política da Terceira Idade em Portugal, de 1976 a 2002*, Op. cit., p. 5.

1327 Kayman, Martin, *Revolution and Counterrevolution in Portugal*, Op. cit., p. 176.

1328 Original text in Portuguese: “Centrada na organização económica, a revisão constitucional de 1989 não se esgotou, porém, aí: Supressão quase completa das menções ideológico-proclamatórias que ainda restavam após 1982”.

1329 Miranda, Jorge, *A Constituição e a Democracia Portuguesa*, (Article: Associação 25 de Abril, online portal, <http://25abril.org/>. Accessed on 12 April, 2014), p. 4.

1330 Fishman, Robert M., *Legacies of Democratizing Reform and Revolution: Portugal and Spain Compared*, Op. cit., p. 29.

The social mark of the Portuguese revolution was imprinted on that country's economy in the form of extensive public ownership until a broadly supported constitutional revision ... permitted a wide program of re-privatization to begin at the close of the 1980s.¹³³¹

Portugal was in the process of conservative modernisation which required adequate legislation to support the new venture, which included both the Portuguese development as well as that of the EEC.

4.2.2 PORTUGUESE MODERNIZATION SUPPORTED BY THE *MAASTRICHT TREATY* AND THE *1992 CONSTITUTIONAL REVISION*

Modernization in Portugal was necessary in order to compete with other European countries because Portugal lagged behind in most of her economic and social aspects. With the advent of new national challenges the country need to revise its *Constitution*. The *Maastricht Treaty* of 1992 saw the demise of the EEC and the entry of the European Union (EU) which led to the *1992 Constitutional Revision* in order to take cognisance of new EU norms and legislation.

4.2.2.1 The *1992 Maastricht Treaty* converts the EEC into the EU

The EEC continued its own transformation through the *1992 Treaty on the European Union* known as the *Maastricht Treaty*, which was signed on 7 February, 1992 and includes the "Provisions amending the treaty which established the European Economic Community with a view to establish the European Union".¹³³² Paul Hoebink writes in *The Treaty of Maastricht and Europe's Development Co-operation*, "The *1992 Treaty on European Union* ... established the legal basis for the formation of a European Union".¹³³³ The *1992 Maastricht Treaty* accelerated the need for modernization entrenching the Europeanization of the citizens within its member states. The *1992 Maastricht Treaty* demanded an immediate Constitutional revision because the vision was now the construction of the European Union.

¹³³¹ Ibid.

¹³³² [?], *The Maastricht Treaty*, (Official Document: Provisions amending the treaty establishing the European Economic Community with a view to establish the European Community. EU. 1992), p. 1.

¹³³³ Hoebink, Paul, *The Treaty of Maastricht and Europe's Development Co-operation*, (Evaluation Services of the European Union. European Union. Brussels, December 2004), p. V.

In December 1991 the heads of Government of the European Community met in Maastricht in the Netherlands and signed the “Treaty on the European Union”,¹³³⁴ according to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, which *Treaty* was ratified by all member states. However, the *Treaty* was modified in February 1992, signed and ratified by all member states and became law on 1 November, 1993. *Encyclopaedia Britannica* further states,

The Treaty established the European Union (EU), with EU citizenship granted to every person who was a citizen of a member state. EU citizenship enabled people to vote and run for office in local and European Parliament elections in the EU country in which they lived, regardless of their nationality.¹³³⁵

The *Treaty* made also provision “For the introduction of a central bank and a common currency (the Euro)”.¹³³⁶ Royo states that, “The decision to comply with the EMU *Maastricht Treaty* criteria led to the implementation of macro and microeconomic policies that resulted in fiscal consolidation, central bank independence, and wage moderation”.¹³³⁷ Consequently, the Portuguese became truly European citizens, “This *Treaty* marks a new stage in the progress of creating an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe”,¹³³⁸ as referred to by the Common Provisions in Article A of the *Treaty of Maastricht*. As the discussions on the establishment of the European Union took place, the insistence was still “to promote economic and social progress which is balanced and sustainable”.¹³³⁹ However, it already included the determination “to strengthen the protection of the rights and interests of the nationals of its Member States through the introduction of a citizenship of the Union”.¹³⁴⁰ The *Treaty of Maastricht* implied a quick and profound transformation of national *Constitutions* to accommodate the new political European reality resulting in the *1992 Constitutional Revision*.

The *1992 Constitutional revision* was a consequence of the decision of the *1992 Maastricht Treaty* to create the EU and according to Miranda,¹³⁴¹ “The 1992

¹³³⁴ The Editors, *Maastricht Treaty*, (Dictionary: Encyclopædia Britannica. <http://www.britannica.com/>. Accessed 18 April, 2014).

¹³³⁵ Ibid.

¹³³⁶ Ibid.

¹³³⁷ Royo, Sebastián, *Portugal and Spain in the EU: paths of economic divergence (2000-2007)*, Op. cit.

¹³³⁸ *The Maastricht Treaty – Treaty on European Union*, (Legislation: Document adopted on 7 February, 1992 in Maastricht, The Netherlands. <http://www.eurotreaties.com/>. Accessed 7 June, 2014).), p. 5.

¹³³⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁴⁰ *The Maastricht Treaty – Treaty on European Union*, (Legislation: Document adopted on 7 February, 1992 in Maastricht, The Netherlands. <http://www.eurotreaties.com/>. Accessed 7 June, 2014), p. 5.

¹³⁴¹ Original text in Portuguese: “A revisão de 1992 – provocada pelo Tratado de Maastricht, da União Europeia – incidiu nas transformações por ele exigidas”.

Constitutional revision – caused by the Maastricht Treaty, which created the European Union – focused on the required transformations”.¹³⁴² Portugal reviewed her *Constitution* following the 1992 *Maastricht Treaty* definitively embracing the future and modernity, which may all be traced to the 1974 Revolution.

4.2.3 MODERNITY AND RELIGIOUS FREEDOM IN PORTUGAL

Portugal welcomed modernity and an important area where Portugal invested for the modernization of the country was education because the Portuguese lagged behind the rest of Europeans in terms of public education, which had a direct impact on religious freedom. The country needed a boost to prepare for competitiveness and new policies helped towards that but education was at the base of national development and modernisation as António Teodoro and Graça Aníbal state in *A Educação em Tempos de Globalização – Modernização e Hibridismo nas Políticas Educativas em Portugal*,¹³⁴³ “An education as a decisive investment for development”.¹³⁴⁴ The Portuguese society was developing into a modern outlook which had an effect on the acceptance of new policies on how to deal with different religious ideas including in public education. Consequently, adequate legislation was produced concerning the teaching of the subject of Morals and Religion in public schools. The legal debate initiated by Caetano in 1973 became increasingly meaningful since the 1974 Revolution conceptually based on the choice between¹³⁴⁵ “Semi-secularism’ or ‘almost secularism”¹³⁴⁶ with the conservative Roman Catholics insisting that¹³⁴⁷ “The purpose of the system education ... should be ‘guided’ by the principles and morals of the [Roman] Catholic traditional Christian doctrine in the country”.¹³⁴⁸ The result of the national debate was the adoption of the law

1342 Miranda, Jorge, *A Constituição e a Democracia Portuguesa*, Op. cit., p. 4.

1343 Original text in Portuguese: “Uma educação como investimento decisivo de desenvolvimento”.

1344 Teodoro, António and Graça Aníbal, *A Educação em Tempos de Globalização – Modernização e Hibridismo nas Políticas Educativas em Portugal*, (Article: Revista Ibero Americana de Educación, nº 48 (2008). <http://www.rieoei.org/>. Accessed on 13 April, 2014), p. 84.

1345 Original text in Portuguese: “‘semi-laicidade’ ou ‘quase laicidade’”.

1346 Pintassilgo, Joaquim, Ed., *Laicidade, Religiões e Educação na Europa do Sul no Século XX*, Op. cit., p. 32.

1347 Original text in Portuguese: “em fórum de discussão, aos sectores conservadores e católicos, designadamente no que se referia às finalidades do sistema de ensino (Base III), que deveriam ser ‘orientadas’ pelos princípios da moral e doutrina cristãs tradicionais no País”.

1348 Pintassilgo, Joaquim, Ed., *Laicidade, Religiões e Educação na Europa do Sul no Século XX*, Op. cit., p. 30.

concerning the reform of the education system Act No. 46/86 of 14 October, 1986 (*Lei n° 46/86 de 14 de Outubro de 1986*) as Pintassilgo mentions,¹³⁴⁹

In the context of democratic Portugal it was in particular from the promulgation of the Law on the Education System (1986) that the resolution of the problem of religious education in public schools began to take the form it takes today and that is based on the possibility of coexistence between the principle of non-denominational public education and the right to religious education.¹³⁵⁰

Within the reform of the education system Portugal included the principle of religious freedom which was the initial step to pave the way for non-Roman Catholics to engage in the teaching of Morals and Religion in public schools along with Roman Catholics as added by Pintassilgo,¹³⁵¹ “...and rests on the possibility of coexistence between the principle of non-denominational public education and the right to religious education”.¹³⁵² The religious liberty that was granted in public schools reflected the process that the country was determined to follow concerning the EU integration.

4.2.4 THE QUEST FOR LIBERTY AND RELIGIOUS FREEDOM IN THE EU INTEGRATION PROCESS

The Portuguese were getting used to new ideas, international policies and different models of development, which included new pluralistic religious perceptions. Anything ‘modern’ was welcomed including new religions depicting the intensity of the meaning of ‘modern’ with regard to European integration. A Portuguese Public Protector was appointed to enforce respect for human rights, and this too was a result of the EU integration.

4.2.4.1 The importance of the Portuguese Public Protector

It was necessary for the Portuguese like any other European citizen to be defended from public administration officials who had to learn how they deal with religious minorities, thus the institution of the Portuguese Public Protector. The Portuguese Public Protector protects the human rights protected in society which became increasingly evident in the

1349 Original text in Portuguese: “No contexto do Portugal democrático foi, em particular, a partir da Lei de Bases do Sistema Educativo (1986) que a resolução do problema do ensino religioso nas escolas começou a tomar a forma que assume na atualidade e que assenta na possibilidade de coexistência entre o princípio da não confessionalidade do ensino público e o direito à educação religiosa”.

1350 Pintassilgo, Joaquim, Ed., *Laicidade, Religiões e Educação na Europa do Sul no Século XX*, Op. cit., pp. 31-32.

1351 Original text in Portuguese: “assenta na possibilidade de coexistência entre o princípio da não confessionalidade do ensino público e o direito à educação religiosa”.

1352 Pintassilgo, Joaquim, Ed., *Laicidade, Religiões e Educação na Europa do Sul no Século XX*, Op. cit.

conservative modernization period from 1986 to 1997. This is a direct consequence of the 1974 Revolution because now the religious freedom of citizens and religious entities is protected. As a result of the appointment of a Public Protector public servants were under pressure to prevent any type of human rights abuses from continuing according to Maria Eduarda Ferraz in *O Provedor de Justiça na defesa da Constituição*,¹³⁵³ “The Public Protector’s ... [role is] to defend the fundamental rights of citizens and the democratic values proclaimed in our *Constitution*”.¹³⁵⁴ Ferraz adds that,¹³⁵⁵ “The creation of the Public Protector in our country is one of the noblest 'historic achievements' of individuals in their fight against the abuses and illegalities committed by the Public Administration”.¹³⁵⁶ The Portuguese Public Protector¹³⁵⁷ “Is ... the armed wing of Parliament – armed with the weapons of Freedom and Reason”.¹³⁵⁸ According to Ferraz, the relevance of the Portuguese Public Protector became increasingly evident with the process of European integration,¹³⁵⁹

The Public Protector [has been in an evolutionary manner interpreting] ... the concepts of the Constitution; positioning himself, regarding the matter of rights, freedoms and guaranties, social constitution, education, economic constitution, the political constitution, justice and, more recently, matters of European integration.¹³⁶⁰

The importance given by the Portuguese judicial system to the role of the Portuguese Public Protector is demonstrated in that in all Constitutional revisions the Public Protector’s prerogatives were altered until 1989.¹³⁶¹ The Portuguese Public Protector became an intrinsic part of the position of the country regarding the application of the EU’s legislation and ethos on human rights including the principle of religious freedom.

1353 Original text in Portuguese: “a contextualizar melhor e a compreender com mais clareza a atuação do Provedor de Justiça ao longo destes anos no que concerne ao exercício destes poderes específicos mas tão relevantes na defesa dos direitos fundamentais dos cidadãos e dos valores democráticos ínsitos na nossa Constituição”.

1354 Ferraz, Maria Eduarda, *O Provedor de Justiça na defesa da Constituição*, (Provedoria de Justiça – Divisão de Documentação. Lisboa, Portugal. 2008), p. 5.

1355 Original text in Portuguese: “A criação de um Ombudsman, no nosso país, constitui uma das mais nobres «conquistas históricas» dos particulares na sua luta contra os abusos e ilegalidades praticados pela Administração Pública”.

1356 Ferraz, Maria Eduarda, *O Provedor de Justiça na defesa da Constituição*, Op. cit., p. 7.

1357 Original text in Portuguese: “O Provedor de Justiça é ... o braço armado do Parlamento – armado com as armas da Liberdade e da Razão”.

1358 Ferraz, Maria Eduarda, *O Provedor de Justiça na defesa da Constituição*, Op. cit.

1359 Original text in Portuguese: “o Provedor de Justiça [foi interpretando evolutivamente,] ... os conceitos da Constituição; ... se foi posicionando, ao longo do tempo, relativamente à matéria dos direitos, liberdades e garantias, à constituição social, à educação, à constituição económica, à constituição política, à justiça e, mais recentemente, às matérias da integração europeia”.

1360 Ferraz, Maria Eduarda, *O Provedor de Justiça na defesa da Constituição*, Op. cit.

1361 Ferraz, Maria Eduarda, *O Provedor de Justiça na defesa da Constituição*, Op. cit., p. 13.

The meaning of ‘modern’ with regard to European integration will be addressed as follows.

4.2.4.2 ‘Modern’ meant European Integration

The Portuguese goal was to become increasingly closer to the modern European standards of living, which encourage Portugal to make the effort to rapidly attain those standards, according to Fernanda Neutel in *Portugal e Espanha: Percursos de Integração*,¹³⁶² “The gross domestic product [of Portugal] which was 53% of the European average in 1986 increased to 75% in the year 2000. No other country (not even Ireland) had achieved so much in a short time”.¹³⁶³ With regard to European integration ‘modern’ meant “Full and balanced development of individual personalities”,¹³⁶⁴ as Maria Luísa Freitas and Maria Glória Solé says in *The Experience of Citizenship, Proceedings of the sixth Conference of the Children’s Identity and Citizenship in Europe Thematic Network*. Freitas and Solé add that ‘modern’ meant developed democratic individuals with

Pluralistic ideals which embody respect for others and their ideas and is open to dialogue and free exchange of opinions ... citizens able to constructively criticize their social system and capable of working towards its progressive transformation.¹³⁶⁵

Modernity also meant moral and civic education ensuring the right of persons to be different, which demanded “Respect for individual personalities and ambitions and consideration and appreciation of different learning and cultures”.¹³⁶⁶ The individual is at the centre of modernity which with regards to EU integration meant,

To develop national awareness open to realities in a context of universalistic humanism and international solidarity and cooperation; to further the acquisition of independent attitudes so as to develop citizens who are civically responsible and participate democratically in community life.¹³⁶⁷ (Freitas and Solé).

The EU’s legislation and ethos on religious freedom is perused next.

1362 Original text in Portuguese: “O produto interno bruto, que em 1986 era de 53% da média europeia, passou em 2000 para 75%.

Nenhum outro país (nem mesmo a Irlanda) conseguiu tanto em tão pouco tempo”.

1363 Neutel, Fernanda, *Portugal e Espanha: Percursos de Integração*, (Article: RES – PUBLICA Revista Lusófona de Ciência Política e Relações Internacionais 2007, 5/6, pp. 59 – 64. H.L.H.T. 2007. <http://respublica.ulusofona.pt/>. Accessed on 13 April, 2014), p. 61.

1364 Freitas, Maria Luísa and Maria Glória Solé, *The Experience of Citizenship, Proceedings of the sixth Conference of the Children’s Identity and Citizenship in Europe Thematic Network*, (Article: Children’s Identity & Citizenship in Europe CICE. Institute for Policy Studies in Education. London Metropolitan University. London, UK. 2004), p. 443.

1365 Ibid.

1366 Ibid.

1367 Ibid.

4.3 POSITIONING PORTUGAL ACCORDING TO EU LEGISLATION AND ETHOS RELATED TO RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

EU member states had to conform to the EU legislation and ethos including the respect for religious freedom. However, when Portugal became a member state of the EU she was required to conform to the EU legislation and ethos which was a tedious process that required legal and social adaptation. This section will discuss EU courts, legislation and ethos to enable clarification and understanding during the Portuguese historical period under scrutiny (1986-1997) and its impact on religious liberty.

4.3.1 COURTS WITH INTERNATIONAL JURISDICTION, TREATIES AND EU DIRECTIVES APPLICABLE IN PORTUGAL

The jurisdiction of European international courts over Portugal as well as EU directives and norms became increasingly respected due to EU integration. This respect for international norms, directives and courts benefited the principle of religious freedom in Portugal to be studied below.

4.3.1.1 Foreign legislation applicable to Portugal related to religious freedom

An important debate among international law scholars has been how to harmonize domestic with international law and a universal and abstract answer does not seem yet to be possible as Niels Petersen states in *The Reception of International Law by Constitutional Courts through the Prism of Legitimacy*, “One of the big debates of international law scholarship ... centered on the relationship between international law and domestic law”.¹³⁶⁸ EU *Treaties* are legislation applicable to Portugal a number of which include freedom of religion. An example of how European directives became legislation in Portugal related to freedom of religion is found in Article 13 of the 1997 *Amsterdam Treaty* which deals to discrimination in general. The Anti-racist Network ENAR-Portugal (Rede Anti-Racista) is an organization established in Portugal to defend

¹³⁶⁸ Petersen, Niels, *The Reception of International Law by Constitutional Courts through the Prism of Legitimacy*, Op. cit., p. 1.

human rights. According to their brochure entitled *Responder ao Racismo em Portugal: European network against racism / rede europeia contra o racismo*,¹³⁶⁹

In 1997, Article 13 of the Amsterdam Treaty gave the European Union a legal basis where it should have developed 'appropriate action to combat discrimination based on sex, racial or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation'. Using these powers, in June 2000 the European Union adopted the racial Equality Directive (and later in the year, the employer Equality Directive).¹³⁷⁰

Through the European directives the EU intervenes in member states regarding issues related to religious liberty as a fundamental right, including relations between the State and Churches as Ricardo Caio Alves points out in *Laicidade (ou laicismo)*,¹³⁷¹

The European Union has had to intervene increasingly in areas affecting human and social rights, and in which social realities and national regimes of member countries involving secular State, confessional State, and multi-confessional State.¹³⁷²

He states,¹³⁷³

Inevitably generate conflicts that often pose a very significant question of what should be the relationship between the EU and the churches, and whether Community law/rights must affect the relationship between states and churches.¹³⁷⁴

To enhance the quest of freedom of religion in the European ethos two international bodies contribute towards the formulation of relevant thought which are the United Nations and the European Court of Human Rights.

4.3.1.2 International courts with jurisdiction in Portugal

The United Nations and the European Court of Human Rights are essential sources of international guidelines related to the principle of religious freedom. The United Nations General Assembly adopted Resolution 36/55 of 25 November, 1981 entitled *Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion*

1369 Original text in Portuguese: “Em 1997, o Artigo 13º do Tratado de Amesterdão deu à União Europeia uma base legal onde se deveriam desenvolver ‘medidas apropriadas para o combate à discriminação baseada no sexo, origem étnica ou racial, religião ou crença, deficiência, idade ou orientação sexual’. Usando estes poderes, a União Europeia adotou a Diretiva da Igualdade racial, em Junho de 2000 (e mais tarde no mesmo ano, a Diretiva da Igualdade no emprego) ”.

1370 [?], *Responder ao Racismo em Portugal: European network against racism / rede europeia contra o racismo*, (ENAR – Portugal, Rede Anti-Racista. Lisbon, Portugal. [?]), p. 9.

1371 Original text in Portuguese: “A União Europeia tem vindo a intervir cada vez mais em áreas que afetam direitos humanos ou sociais, e nas quais as realidades sociais e os regimes nacionais dos países membros, laicidade do Estado, confessionalismo de Estado, multiconfessionalismo de Estado”.

1372 Alves, Ricardo Caio, *Laicidade (ou laicismo)*, (Article: Arquivo de artigos e conferências de Ricardo Caio Alves. 2004. <http://laicidade.wordpress.com/>. Accessed on 10 April, 2014).

1373 Original text in Portuguese: “Geram inevitavelmente conflitos que muitas vezes colocam a questão de saber qual deve ser o relacionamento entre a UE e as igrejas, e se o direito comunitário deve afetar o relacionamento entre os Estados e as igrejas”.

1374 Alves, Ricardo Caio, *Laicidade (ou laicismo)*, Op. cit.

or *Belief*. The preamble of this *Declaration* uses the word “respect”¹³⁷⁵ repeatedly related to the observance of human rights and particularly freedom of religion,

Freedom of religion and belief should contribute to the attainment of the goals of world peace, social justice and friendship among peoples and the elimination of ideological or practices of colonialism and racial discrimination... [Nevertheless, the UN is] concerned by manifestations of intolerance and by the existence of discrimination in matters of religion or belief still in evidence in some areas of the world.¹³⁷⁶

As a proud advocate of UN Resolutions the EU has instituted the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) which aims “To defend the inalienable freedom of religion or belief”,¹³⁷⁷ as highlighted by Merilin Kiviorg in *Religious Autonomy in the ECHR*. Regarding the ECHR theoretical background, Kiviorg asserts that “The centrepiece of human rights talk and human rights law today is the idea (or ideas) of equal worth, dignity and autonomy of every human being”.¹³⁷⁸ Kiviorg adds that,

There is a certain amount of ambiguity and variance in the understanding of philosophical ideas of autonomy, dignity and equality. However, these ideals are interlinked and captured (together with their ambiguity) in the international and regional human rights instruments.¹³⁷⁹

However, he states that “The European Court of Human Rights (ECHT) has often been criticised for its lack of a concept that would clarify its approach for freedom of religion”.¹³⁸⁰ The ECHT lacks clarity concerning the principle of religious freedom which makes a weak human right yet to be respected, which in Kiviorg’s opinion, “Is evident in the Courts inconsistent case law and its inconsistent theoretical reasoning in cases dealing with individual and collective freedom of religion”.¹³⁸¹ In her article Kiviorg demonstrates concern because the ECHR does not defend “The right to religious autonomy”.¹³⁸² She specifically points out that the ECHR’s problem concerning freedom of religion is twofold related to the belief itself and its practical manifestation,

Freedom of religion or belief under the ECHR is generally perceived to include two interrelated elements, which are freedom to adopt or have a religion or belief of one’s own

1375 [?], *Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief*, (Legislation: Declaration in proclaimed by the General Assembly Resolution 36/55 of 25 November 1981. <http://www.ohchr.org/>. Accessed on 11 April, 2014).

1376 Ibid.

1377 Kiviorg, Merilin, *Religious Autonomy in the ECHR*, (Article: Delta Publicaciones, online portal, <http://www.deltapublicaciones.com/>. Accessed on 11 April, 2014), p. 131.

1378 Ibid., p. 132.

1379 Ibid.

1380 Ibid., p. 131.

1381 Ibid.

1382 Ibid., p. 133.

choice (*forum internum*) as well as freedom to manifest that religion or belief (*forum externum*).¹³⁸³

That is,

Article 9 of the ECHR suggests that there is a divide between what a person believes and actions based on these beliefs. This structure also suggests that there is a private/public divide in understanding of religion or belief. [However], neither of these divides is necessarily recognised by believers themselves.¹³⁸⁴

From the point of view of the believer the most important is not the freedom to choose a religion but rather “The possibility of expressing one’s convictions alone or in community”,¹³⁸⁵ because in the believer’s mind there is no “Meaningful distinction between beliefs and action”.¹³⁸⁶ Kiviorg explains that, “While these beliefs/actions and public/private divides are echoed in a state neutrality debate, they also have implications on how beliefs and religions are defined in legal practice”.¹³⁸⁷ Kiviorg adds that

The current approach taken by the ECHR indicates that while the Court is accepting the autonomy of the individual to determine his beliefs in *forum internum*, it has seen its task as to determine what a manifestation of religion or belief is, leaving little autonomy to an individual in this regard.¹³⁸⁸

Consequently, what Kiviorg argues is “That there ought to be a right to religious autonomy in determining, both at the individual and collective level, both what one’s belief is, and the ways and importance of the manifestation of it”.¹³⁸⁹ Kiviorg indicates that the Court conceptualises, “Boundaries between *forum internum* and *forum externum* [which] are even more muddled when we are talking about religious communities and not individuals”.¹³⁹⁰ At the level of inner personal conviction the lifestyle generated by the religious conviction (*forum internum*) of the believer is not protected by the state.¹³⁹¹ Within the EU context Portugal is directly affected by this ECHR problem which the *1989 Constitutional Revision* failed to address.

The German Constitutional Court and the European Court of Justice have jurisdiction in Portugal.¹³⁹² Within the EU member states, all court systems have the tendency to create

¹³⁸³ Ibid.

¹³⁸⁴ Ibid., pp. 133-134.

¹³⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 134.

¹³⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹³⁹¹ Ibid.

¹³⁹² Petersen, Niels, *The Reception of International Law by Constitutional Courts through the Prism of Legitimacy*, (Preprints of the Max Planck Institute for Research on Collective Goods. Bonn. [Germany]. 2009/39. Revised January 2011), p. 3.

“A united, coordinated judicial front”.¹³⁹³ The Portuguese are no longer only Portuguese citizens; they are European citizens who vote in direct elections to participate in European democratic processes. Therefore, the European Court of Justice has legitimate jurisdiction over the Portuguese in cooperation with the national legal system. The European Union has instituted courts with international jurisdiction over its member states to ensure their process of integration continues to adopt EU legislation, ethos and human rights principles provided for all citizens.

4.3.2 THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE EUROPEAN ETHOS AND TRENDS ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

The European Union has a long process of formation, being the product of its own historical transformation but the intention of integration was to create European citizenship which required continued efforts searching for common elements of the member states. Related to freedom of religion the continued integration of the EU involves the development of a European ethos and increasing ways to apply respect for human rights such as religious freedom. A discussion of the development of European ethos and trends concerning human rights and religious freedom follows.

The secularization process in Europe has reached a turning point where it needs to allow religion to reinstate its own views of the world with its permanent quest for solutions to existential problems. According to James Crokery in his book *Europe: What is Pope Benedict Thinking?* Pope John Paul II had a vision of Europe not only “In political and economic terms ... but also in much wider historical and cultural dimensions”.¹³⁹⁴ It is precisely the overall identity of Europe with its entire historical and cultural heritage that contributes to the European ethos of which Crokery refers to as Pope Benedict XVI’s thoughts on the identity of Europe. Crokery adds that Europe “Constitutes, for its citizens, an entire living space, a way of being together by different peoples that is founded on mutual ordering of faith and reason”.¹³⁹⁵ The mutual ordering of faith and reason was as a result of the encounter of Christian faith, values and meaning with Greek and Roman philosophical and political thinking. The European ethos is a combination of two main elements, Christian faith and reason, which are concurrent thoughts that have

¹³⁹³ Ibid.

¹³⁹⁴ Crokery, James, *Europe: What is Pope Benedict Thinking?* (Article: Thinking Faith, Jesuit Media Initiatives. 24 September 2009. Available at: <http://www.thinkingfaith.org/>. Accessed on 11 April, 2014), p. 1.

¹³⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 2.

been constantly present amongst European peoples and continue to contribute to the global perception of European thought. One of the elements that contribute towards the present day European thought is Christianity and the other is secularism as a consequence of reason.¹³⁹⁶ In this regard Crokery explains,

In the first, the mutual ordering of faith and reason, of religion and law, is maintained; in the second, there is a radical severing of reason from faith that claims total autonomy for reason and that relegates faith entirely to the margins of life.¹³⁹⁷

This dichotomy of European thought led Joseph Ratzinger to synthesise his views on present day Europe, characterising them by “The relative separation of state and Church, freedom of conscience, human rights and the independent responsibility of reason”.¹³⁹⁸ Crokery points out that in Ratzinger’s thought,

The identity of Europe as a synthesis of faith and reason points its architects – and this includes those responsible for shaping the EU also – towards the importance of returning to public consciousness, the moral heritage of Christianity and the voice of Christian faith in God.¹³⁹⁹

European people are constantly rethinking Europe but now this includes Christian ethics and morals. Themes such as defence responsibilities and military neutrality, family, right to life issues, education, taxation, social policy and workers’ rights are being weighed in the balance of their ethical dimensions. Crokery states,

All of these have ethical dimensions and need to have moral criteria brought to bear upon them. Persons of all religious traditions, and sometimes even none, recognise the importance of bringing criteria and perspectives from the great ethical and religious traditions of humanity to bear upon such questions.¹⁴⁰⁰

The big question posed by European authorities, however, is how to accommodate all cultural and religious diversity within the integration of European societies. Concerned with this important question the European Commission published a book coordinated by Louisa Anastopoulou entitled *Pluralism and religious diversity, social cohesion and integration in Europe* in which she claims that

The key issues addressed by researchers are how various policies can support the goal of life fulfilment in Europe and which policies correctly balance the needs of the individual and society as a whole by building on the fundamental notions of equality and human rights.¹⁴⁰¹

1396 Ibid., p. 3.

1397 Ibid.

1398 Ibid.

1399 Ibid., p. 4.

1400 Ibid.

1401 Anastopoulou, Louisa, *Pluralism and religious diversity, social cohesion and integration in Europe: Insights from European research*, (European Commission. Project Information. Directorate-General for Research and Innovation, Socio-economic Sciences and Humanities. Brussels. [Belgium]. 2011), p. 3.

Anastopoulou states that the European ethos is being addressed by investigators under the programme ‘EuroEthos: Exploring the scope for a shared European pluralistic ethos’, attempting to find the major issues for the reconstruction of Europe, “The politics of handling cultural diversity is one of the major issues in the construction of Europe, especially in light of the enlargement of the EU”.¹⁴⁰² The EuroEthos is a project aiming at the exploration of “The possible scope for a shared European ethos”,¹⁴⁰³ which analyses questions related to legislation and politics “Concerning issues of religious and secular ethics-based requests for exemption from the law”.¹⁴⁰⁴ The EuroEthos project works towards those aims “In the belief that the study of such issues provides precious indications on how societies try to handle a plurality of values”.¹⁴⁰⁵

By establishing the EuroEthos with political integration in mind the European Commission seeks to study the scope for a European ethos by analysing the influence of a diverse heritage on the political views of the citizens and “To raise historical awareness of the relationship between plural values and political stances”.¹⁴⁰⁶ Anastopoulou states that the essential aim of the EuroEthos project is “To develop and organise knowledge on cases in which religious and ethical secular values lead to the definition of politically relevant claims”.¹⁴⁰⁷

To harmonise Portuguese legislation and society according to the EU legislation and ethos the reformation of the *1971 Religious Freedom Act* required revision.

4.3.3 THE ESTABLISHMENT IN PORTUGAL OF THE COMMISSION FOR THE REFORMATION OF THE *1971 RELIGIOUS FREEDOM ACT*

For the reformation of the *1971 Religious Freedom Act* two important events took place during the conservative modernization period from 1989 to 1997. One was a *Collective Petition* presented in the form of a report to the Portuguese National Parliament in 1992; and, the other, was the consequent establishment of the Commission for the Reformation of the *1971 Religious Freedom Act* in 1996.

¹⁴⁰² Ibid., p. 12.

¹⁴⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰⁷ Ibid.

4.3.3.1 The *Collective Petition* to the National Parliament by Magistrate José Dias Bravo

Magistrate José Dias Bravo is a key figure in the process of creating specific legislation concerning religious freedom in Portugal. Bravo was a jurist, Councillor of the Supreme Tribunal of Justice, Vice-General Attorney of the Portuguese Republic, an Evangelical pastor and President of the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance. In *Um Adeus a José Dias Bravo* Nuno Guerreiro Josué states that¹⁴⁰⁸ “Bravo was a key figure regarding the definition of Portuguese Protestantism in the twentieth century”.¹⁴⁰⁹ Bravo was persecuted by PIDE since he was sixteen years old for distributing *Bibles* and Evangelical tracts and¹⁴¹⁰ “From an early age he struggled against national religious hegemony and intolerance towards other churches and religions, a characteristic that for centuries have marked our country”.¹⁴¹¹ Adding to this,¹⁴¹² “He was one of those responsible for the gradual change of the image of the Protestant churches in Portugal”.¹⁴¹³ Josué states,¹⁴¹⁴ “He taught me ... that prejudices, phobias and hatred of others may be gradually overcome, never in the same manner, but by the example of men like him”.¹⁴¹⁵

The 1940 *Concordat* continued to have its legal validity in Portugal, according to Articles 26 and 27 of the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties.¹⁴¹⁶ However, according to José Joaquim Almeida Lopes in *Direito Eclesiástico Português do Século XXI*,¹⁴¹⁷ “The wording of the Concordat was changed by the additional Protocol, signed

1408 Original text in Portuguese: “Bravo foi uma figura fundamental para a definição do protestantismo português do século XX”.

1409 Josué, Nuno Guerreiro, *Um Adeus a José Dias Bravo*, (Information: Rua da Judiaria, a kaddish online blog, <http://ruadajudiaria.com/>. Accessed on 8 August, 2015).

1410 Original text in Portuguese: “lutou desde cedo contra a hegemonia religiosa nacional e a intolerância por outras igrejas e religiões, característica que durante séculos marcaram o nosso país”.

1411 Josué, Nuno Guerreiro, *Um Adeus a José Dias Bravo*, Op. cit.

1412 Original text in Portuguese: “foi um dos responsáveis pela gradual mudança da imagem das igrejas protestantes em Portugal”.

1413 Josué, Nuno Guerreiro, *Um Adeus a José Dias Bravo*, Op. cit.

1414 Original text in Portuguese: “Ensinou-me ... que os preconceitos, fobias e ódios dos outros podem ser gradualmente vencidos, nunca na mesma moeda, mas através do exemplo de homens como ele”.

1415 Josué, Nuno Guerreiro, *Um Adeus a José Dias Bravo*, Op. cit.

1416 *Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties*, (Legislation: United Nation, Treaty Collection, <https://treaties.un.org/>. Accessed on 9 August, 2015).

1417 Original text in Portuguese: “Alterada a redação ... da Concordata pelo Protocolo adicional, assinado na cidade do Vaticano em 15 de Fevereiro de 1975, é chegado o momento de proceder à almejada modificação do direito interno”.

in Vatican City on 15th February 1975, time came to proceed with the envisaged changes to the national law”.¹⁴¹⁸ Lopes states¹⁴¹⁹

Everything would be fine ... in the relations between the Portuguese State and the [Roman] Catholic Church, if it wasn't for the "tax issue" concerning the discrimination of a fiscal nature that non-[Roman] Catholic churches claiming to be victims, when compared with the tax status created in favour of the Catholic Church by the *1940 Concordat*.¹⁴²⁰

Consequently, Magistrate José Dias Bravo as President of the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance organized a *Collective Petition* to ask the National Parliament to provide legislation to resolve the problem of religious freedom in Portugal by providing¹⁴²¹ “Legislation ... to end the discrimination ... between the Roman Catholic Church and the Evangelical confession”.¹⁴²² The *Collective Petition* was presented to the National Parliament on¹⁴²³ “27th October 1992, ... subscribed by the first signatory, the magistrate José Dias Bravo, at the time the Deputy General Attorney of the Republic, and also by 11 654 Portuguese citizens, Evangelical believers”.¹⁴²⁴ Lopes states,¹⁴²⁵

This *Collective Petition* was based on the Constitution (right to religious freedom and the right to equality), the text of the *1940 Concordat*, in the disfavour situation the Evangelical Alliance was in relation to the [Roman] Catholic Church and in the existence of an unconstitutionality by omission of legislation, generating inequality.¹⁴²⁶

The text of the *Collective Petition* presented by Bravo is in the National Parliament Gazette of 12 February, 1993 (Diário da Assembleia da República, II Série-C, nº 16, de 12.2.1993, págs. 128 a 130).¹⁴²⁷ Lopes states,¹⁴²⁸ “That petition resulted in a final report, which included the views by the Petitions Committee of Parliament on the issue decided

1418 Lopes, José Joaquim Almeida, *Direito Eclesiástico Português do Século XXI*, (Article: Universidade do Porto, Portugal, sigarra.up.pt/. Accessed on 8 August, 2015), p. 147.

1419 Original text in Portuguese: “Tudo estaria bem ... nas relações entre o estado Português e a Igreja Católica, se não fosse a “questão fiscal” respeitante às discriminações de natureza fiscal de que as igrejas não católicas se diziam vítimas, quando se comparavam com o estatuto fiscal criado à Igreja Católica pela Concordata de 1940”.

1420 Lopes, José Joaquim Almeida, *Direito Eclesiástico Português do Século XXI*, Op. cit., pp. 147-148.

1421 Original text in Portuguese: “legislação ... que terminasse ... com a discriminação ... entre a Igreja Católica e a confissão evangélica”.

1422 Lopes, José Joaquim Almeida, *Direito Eclesiástico Português do Século XXI*, Op. cit., p. 148.

1423 Original text in Portuguese: “27 de Outubro de 1992, ... subscrita pelo primeiro signatário, o magistrado José Dias Bravo, ao tempo Vice-procurador-geral da República, e também por 11.654 cidadãos portugueses, crentes evangélicos”.

1424 Lopes, José Joaquim Almeida, *Direito Eclesiástico Português do Século XXI*, Op. cit.

1425 Original text in Portuguese: “Esta petição coletiva fundamentou-se na Constituição (direito de liberdade religiosa e direito de igualdade), no texto da Concordata de 1940 na situação de desfavor em que se encontrava a Aliança Evangélica relativamente à Igreja católica e na existência de uma inconstitucionalidade por omissão de legislação, geradora de desigualdade”.

1426 Lopes, José Joaquim Almeida, *Direito Eclesiástico Português do Século XXI*, Op. cit.

1427 Ibid.

1428 Original text in Portuguese: “Aquela petição foi objeto de um relatório final e parecer da Comissão de Petições da Assembleia da República, de 13 de Julho de 1995, o qual foi aprovado por unanimidade dos deputados”.

on 13 July 1995, which was unanimously approved by the delegates”.¹⁴²⁹ Minutes of the initial debate on the National Parliament is in the National Parliament Gazette of 15 February, 1997 (*Diário da Assembleia da República*, I Série, nº 40, de 15.2.1997, págs. 1443 a 1445).¹⁴³⁰

4.3.3.2 The Commission for the Reformation of the 1971 Religious Freedom Act

It was an opportune period in which to address the principle of religious freedom in Portugal as the result of EU legislation and ethos as well as pressure from the 1974 Revolution’s promise of liberty. However, Law No. 4/71 of 21 August, 1971 (*Lei nº 4/71, de 21 de Agosto*), known as the *1971 Religious Freedom Act*, became obsolete with the new regime. The State relations with the Roman Catholic Church continued to be guided by the *1940 Concordat* but other religious denominations were only considered as¹⁴³¹ “religious confessions”.¹⁴³² Their legal existence was precarious because of the lack of clarity contained in Decree/Law No. 594/74, of 7 November, 1974 (*Decreto/Lei nº 594/74, de 7 de Novembro*), which granted religious freedom but not legal equality with the Roman Catholic Church.¹⁴³³ As the number of religious denominations registered with the Ministry of Justice continued to grow, and EU legislation imposed clarification concerning respect for human rights and religious freedom, the State was pressured to solve the unjust situation because¹⁴³⁴ “In 1996, there were 459 local groups from 60 different confessions registered with the Ministry of Justice”.¹⁴³⁵

The 1974 Revolution resulted in general freedoms, which included religious freedom for individual believers; however, it did not produce legislation that supported diverse religious communities. Therefore, Dr José Eduardo Vera Cruz Jardim – the Minister of Justice of the Government of Eng. António Guterres – decided to reform the outdated *1971 Religious Freedom Act*. Apart from EU pressure to produce legislation pertaining to

1429 Lopes, José Joaquim Almeida, *Direito Eclesiástico Português do Século XXI*, Op. cit.

1430 Ibid., p. 149.

1431 Original text in Portuguese: “confissões religiosas”.

1432 [?], *No Décimo Aniversário da Lei da Liberdade Religiosa: A Aprovação da Lei em S. Bento*, (Article: Estado e Igreja – Um site sobre a Separação do Estado e da Igreja em Portugal. December, 2011. (Lourenço, Eduardo, “Os Dois Poderes”, *Finisterra. Revista de Reflexão e Crítica* 33, 11-13, Dez. 1999). Online portal, <http://estadoeigreja.wordpress.com/>. Accessed on 9 June, 2014).

1433 Ibid.

1434 Original text in Portuguese: “Em 1996, estavam registados no Ministério da Justiça 459 grupos locais de 60 confissões diferentes”.

1435 [?], *No Décimo Aniversário da Lei da Liberdade Religiosa: A Aprovação da Lei em São Bento*, Op. cit.

religious freedom, as well as the necessary fulfilment of the 1974 Revolutionary promise, there were personal reasons that motivated Jardim to address the issue of religious freedom at the political level. As Jardim stated in *Interview 13* (See Interviews Conducted), there was the political need to regulate religious freedom,¹⁴³⁶

There had been another *Religious Freedom Act* ... in 1971, in the times of Marcelo Caetano. But, this law had no effect whatsoever, because it was a law which basically prevented other Churches from developing. That is, the other Churches that weren't the [Roman] Catholic Church.¹⁴³⁷

Jardim was prompted to take action in favour of the reform of the *1971 Religious Freedom Act* as he remembered from his childhood the mistreatment of Evangelicals,¹⁴³⁸

I am not so young anymore. And I remember – although no one can speak of religious persecution during the dictatorship – but there was a very suspicious look on all that was Protestant, Evangelical, or other movements. Those people were regarded socially as outcasts. They were considered weird people. I remember as a child, some people used to tell me – when you go past that street, there are some very weird people. It was an Evangelical Church [close to my parent's house] and its members would do their prayers almost furtively. They were hiding away.¹⁴³⁹

However, Jardim's friend Dr José Dias Bravo also influenced him concerning the necessary reform of that *Act*. Bravo was an Evangelical pastor, the president of the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance as well as a respected Councillor Judge of the Supreme Court. As Jardim stated,¹⁴⁴⁰ "Councillor Judge José Dias Bravo was my friend for a long time and we talked a lot about the need for a new *Religious Freedom Act* that would grant justice to all citizens".¹⁴⁴¹ Bravo had been the Vice-General Attorney of the country, and his ethical conduct marked his entire career as a judge. Politicians, colleagues, the Evangelicals in general and the society respected him as a high profile judge. When he died, popular media for example the *Público* which refrained from

1436 Original text in Portuguese: "Tinha havido uma outra *Lei da Liberdade Religiosa* nos anos ... em 1971, nos tempos – enfim – do Marcelo Caetano. Mas essa *Lei* não teve qualquer efeito, porque era uma *Lei* que no fundo evitava que as outras igrejas se desenvolvessem. As igrejas, que não a Igreja Católica".

1437 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 13 – with Dr José Eduardo Vera Jardim*, Op. cit., p. 3.

1438 Original text in Portuguese: "Eu ... já não sou muito novo. E, lembro-me que – embora não se possa falar de perseguição religiosa durante a ditadura – mas havia um olhar muito desconfiado sobre, designadamente, tudo o que fosse movimentos protestantes, evangélicos, ou outros. Porque eram pessoas mal olhadas – digamos – socialmente. Eram pessoas que... Eu lembro-me que era criança – digamos – e me diziam em casa – não a minha mãe ou o meu pai, mas as outras pessoas me diziam – o menino quando passar ali naquela rua e tal, há lá uns indivíduos que são esquisitos. Era uma igreja evangélica que iam fazer as suas orações um pouco quase às escondidas. Estavam escondidos".

1439 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 13 – with Dr José Eduardo Vera Jardim*, Op. cit., pp. 23-24.

1440 Original text in Portuguese: "O Doutor José Dias Bravo foi meu amigo durante muito tempo e conversamos imenso sobre a necessidade de uma nova Lei de Liberdade Religiosa que reponha justiça a todos os cidadãos".

1441 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 13 – with Dr José Eduardo Vera Jardim*, Op. cit.

reporting on any events related to Evangelicals, carried a report of his death as follows,¹⁴⁴²

The former Deputy General Attorney of the Republic and current Counsellor Judge of the Supreme Court José Dias Bravo died today in Lisbon... He was also President of the Evangelical Alliance and one of the persons who contributed the most to the discussion of the [2001] *Religious Freedom Act* in Portugal.¹⁴⁴³

From the above quotation taken from the report on Bravo's death it is evident that Evangelicals were being accepted in Portuguese society. Since Evangelicals were being gaining recognition in the political arena in Portugal the Minister of Justice Jardim decided to resolve the political matter,¹⁴⁴⁴

I understood that more than twenty years after the 25 April, [1974] the truth was that although the Constitution proclaimed religious freedom, freedom of conscience and freedom of worship, there was the need to make broader regulations for the various religious communities so they would have a broader statute.¹⁴⁴⁵

He believed that it was not enough for individuals to have freedom of religion, but that¹⁴⁴⁶ "... it is necessary that all communities have equal statute. Therefore, a *Religious Freedom Act* was missing".¹⁴⁴⁷ Underpinning the new *Act* was the necessity to respect the dignity of the various religious confessions that were established in the country,¹⁴⁴⁸

My idea was to make an inclusive *Religious Freedom Act*; to give all the churches a generally decent and dignified statute; not only on the individual rights of religious freedom, but also as communities. This is because in religious freedom it is not enough to deal with the freedom of every believer. We must also address the freedom of associations and of religious organizations.¹⁴⁴⁹

Professor Dr José Inácio Clímaco de Sousa Brito a Judge of the Constitutional Court and the first Portuguese representative in the Commission for Human Rights of the Council

1442 Original text in Portuguese: "O antigo vice-procurador-geral da república e atual juiz conselheiro do Supremo Tribunal de Justiça José Dias Bravo morreu hoje em Lisboa ... Foi ainda presidente da Aliança Evangélica, tendo sido uma das pessoas que mais contribuiu para a discussão da Lei da Liberdade Religiosa em Portugal".

1443 LUSA, *Antigo Vice-Procurador-Geral da República e Actual Juiz Conselheiro do Supremo Tribunal – Morreu hoje o conselheiro José Dias Bravo*, (News report: Público. Lisboa [Portugal]. 05-11-2003, at 18:24 pm. <http://publico.pt/>. Accessed on 9 June, 2014).

1444 Original text in Portuguese: "Eu entendi que passados mais de vinte anos depois do 25 de Abril, a verdade é que embora a Constituição proclamasse a liberdade religiosa, a liberdade de consciência e a liberdade de culto estavam por fazer a regulamentação mais ampla que desse às várias comunidades religiosas um estatuto mais amplo".

1445 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 13 – with Dr José Eduardo Vera Jardim*, Op. cit., p. 3.

1446 Original text in Portuguese: "... é preciso que todas essas comunidades tenham um estatuto de igualdade. E que faltava – portanto – uma *Lei de Liberdade Religiosa*".

1447 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 13 – with Dr José Eduardo Vera Jardim*, Op. cit.

1448 Original text in Portuguese: "A minha ideia foi fazer uma *Lei da Liberdade Religiosa* inclusiva. Que desse às igrejas em geral um estatuto digno, digno; não só sobre os direitos individuais de liberdade religiosa, mas também como comunidades. Porque na liberdade religiosa não chega apenas tratar da liberdade de cada crente. É preciso também falar da liberdade das associações, das organizações religiosas".

1449 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 13 – with Dr José Eduardo Vera Jardim*, Op. cit., p. 4.

of Europe was involved with the new *Religious Freedom Act*. He also became a member of the ‘European consortium of research on Church and State’, meeting regularly with law professors of other European countries. In *Interview 14* (See Interviews Conducted) Brito states,¹⁴⁵⁰

I was the ... first ... representative of Portugal in the Commission of the Experts for the Development of Human Rights in the Council of Europe ... since 1977 ... of which I continue to the present until now. I was involved in the entire European development regarding the issue [of religious freedom].¹⁴⁵¹

Since Brito was a Member of Parliament he was elected as¹⁴⁵² “Judge of the Constitutional Court dedicated to matters related to the right of religions”.¹⁴⁵³ Consequently,¹⁴⁵⁴ “The Minister of Justice, Dr Vera Jardim, recognized the need to proceed by way of creating ordinary legislation, to eliminate the discrimination that Evangelicals said they were victims”,¹⁴⁵⁵ and¹⁴⁵⁶

For this purpose, by Order No. 96/MJ/96, published in the II Series of the National Gazette of 24/04/1996, created the Commission of Reform of the Religious Freedom Act, chaired by a prestigious constitutionalist, Councillor Dr José de Sousa Brito, with the mandate to present a draft legal instrument, accompanied by a justification report within six months.¹⁴⁵⁷

The Commission was tasked in 1996 to write the first draft of the Project of Law that resulted in the *2001 Religious Freedom Act*. After intensive work from 1996 to 1998, the CRLLR completed the draft of the new *Religious Freedom Act* and it was presented in Parliament as a¹⁴⁵⁸ “Project of Law”.¹⁴⁵⁹ In a *communiqué* published by the *Voz Portucalense* on 22 April, 1997 the Roman Catholic Bishops affiliated with the Portuguese Episcopal Conference (Conferência Episcopal Portuguesa – CEP)

1450 Original text in Portuguese: “Fui o ... primeiro ... representante de Portugal na Comissão dos Peritos para o Desenvolvimento dos Direitos do Homem no Conselho da Europa ... desde 1977 ... e ... mantive-me até agora. Acompanhei todo o desenvolvimento da Europa nessa qualidade”.

1451 Da Silva, F.C., *Interview 14 – with Councillor Judge Professor José I. C. de Sousa Brito*, (Conducted at the Restaurant of Gulbenkian in Lisbon on 30 March, 2001), pp. 1-2.

1452 Original text in Portuguese: “Juiz do Tribunal Constitucional e dedi[quei-me] ... à matéria ... ligada ... ao direito das religiões”.

1453 Da Silva, FC, *Interview 14 – with Councillor Judge Professor José I. C. de Sousa Brito*, Op. cit., p. 2.

1454 Original text in Portuguese: “O Ministro da Justiça, Dr Vera Jardim ... reconhe[ceu] a necessidade de se proceder, por via de legislação ordinária, à eliminação da discriminação de que os evangélicos se diziam vítimas”.

1455 Lopes, José Joaquim Almeida, *Direito Eclesiástico Português do Século XXI*, Op. cit., p. 149.

1456 Original text in Portuguese: “Para o efeito, por seu Despacho nº 96/MJ/96, publicado na II Série do Diário da República de 24.4.1996, criou a Comissão de Reforma da Lei de Liberdade Religiosa, presidida por um prestigiado constitucionalista, Conselheiro Dr José de Sousa Brito, com o encargo de apresentar um projecto de diploma legal, acompanhado do respetivo relatório de fundamentação, no prazo de seis meses”.

1457 Lopes, José Joaquim Almeida, *Direito Eclesiástico Português do Século XXI*, Op. cit.

1458 Original words in Portuguese: “Projeto de Lei”.

1459 Da Silva, F. C., *Telephonic Interview with Councillor Judge Professor José I. C. de Sousa Brito*, (Interview: held on 9 June, 2014 at 15:39 pm from my cell phone to his cell phone).

state,¹⁴⁶⁰ “The State, with the basis of constitutional equality, should provide for the religious denominations, duly legalized, their fair duly benefits”.¹⁴⁶¹ Therefore, the Project of Law was discussed in Parliament until 1999 but the Government changed and Dr Vera Jardim presented it for approval again the following year. The new *2001 Religious Freedom Act* was approved in “2000”,¹⁴⁶² and became *Law* in “2001”.¹⁴⁶³

Social development continued as a result of the European experience of freedom.

4.4 SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT AND THE EXPERIENCE OF FREEDOM

The experience of liberty was intertwined with social development but the ideals of capitalism could have led to manipulative manoeuvres and consequent social bondage. The type of freedom to which society is exposed determines the type of social and cultural development as well as the individual’s ability to assert their views. The following is a discussion of the type of freedom experienced by the Portuguese society and its resulting social development.

4.4.1 THE INFLUENCE OF THE EU AND THE CPLP ON THE TYPE OF FREEDOM EXPERIENCED BY PORTUGUESE CITIZENS

Portugal is geographically as well as politically in a peripheral position relative to the European centres of political and decision making life. Therefore, she should take advantage of her historical ties with her former colonies to enhance her political position within the EU. Pondering her political options Portugal engaged with her former colonies and during a summit of the Seven Heads of State of the Portuguese speaking countries held in November 1989 in São Luís do Maranhão, Brazil proposed the creation of the CPLP.¹⁴⁶⁴ Subsequently, on 17 July, 1996¹⁴⁶⁵ Portugal, Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde,

¹⁴⁶⁰ Original text in Portuguese: “o Estado, com base na igualdade constitucional, deve conceder às confissões religiosas, devidamente legalizadas, os benefícios que houver por bem”.

¹⁴⁶¹ Lopes, José Joaquim Almeida, *Direito Eclesiástico Português do Século XXI*, Op. cit., p. 150.

¹⁴⁶² Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 1 – Entrevista com o Dr José Eduardo Vera Jardim*, (Interview: conducted on 30 March, 2011 at his office in National Parliament in his capacity as the Vice-President of the Parliament), p. 5.

¹⁴⁶³ Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 13 – with Dr José Eduardo Vera Jardim*, Op. cit., p. 5.

¹⁴⁶⁴ Monteiro, António, *A Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa*, (Article: Instituto de Defesa Nacional. <http://comum.rcaap.pt/>. Accessed on 13 April, 2014), p. 49.

Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and São Tomé and Príncipe established a commonwealth of Portuguese speaking countries known as the Community of Countries of Portuguese Language (Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa – CPLP).

Portugal was a member state of the EU, but, also became a member of the CPLP which influenced the experiences of the citizens related to religious proliferation. Religious liberty was enhanced because of the influx of immigrants from CPLP countries. Thus, the following is a discussion of the peripheral position of Portugal in the EU, the advantages of being a member state of the CPLP (1996) and the type of freedom that was experienced by the Portuguese society during the conservative modernization period (1986-1997).

4.4.1.1 The influence of Portugal's peripheral position on the economy and freedom of religion

There are countries which are part of the 'core EU's nations' and those like Portugal which are regarded as 'peripheral'.¹⁴⁶⁶ Most Portuguese history was made in the seas because of her peripheral position in the European continent. Consequently, because of her peripheral position Portugal suffers disequilibria which, according to Karl Aiginger, Peter Huber and Matthias Firgo in *Policy options for the development of peripheral regions and countries of Europe*, "Disequilibria across European countries push down stability and growth in Europe and challenge both European cohesion and the monetary union".¹⁴⁶⁷ As, "Given its location ... [and lower] level of general education ... Portugal reveals a tremendous weakness",¹⁴⁶⁸ (Werner Baer and Antonio Nogueira Leite in *The economy of Portugal within the European Union: 1990-2002*). In comparing the Portuguese economy with other EU's countries Baer and Leite claim that,

1465 [?], *Declaração Constitutiva da Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa – CPLP*, (Legislation: CPLP online portal. <http://www.cplp.org/> . Accessed on 6 July, 2015), p. 1.

1466 Frangakis, Marica, *Accentuating the divide: The precarious position confronting the EU's peripheral countries*, (Information: Nicos Poulantzas Institute. 25th April, 2013. <http://rosalux-europa.info/>. Accessed on 13 April, 2014), p. 3.

1467 Aiginger, Karl, Peter Huber and Matthias Firgo, *Policy options for the development of peripheral regions and countries of Europe*, (European Policy Brief. WWW for Europe – Welfare, Wealth, Work. Policy Brief No. 2. December 2012), p. 1.

1468 Baer, Werner, Antonio Nogueira Leite, *The economy of Portugal within the European Union: 1990-2002*, (Article: The Quarterly Review of Economics and Finance 43. Department of Economics, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, USA. Universidade Nova de Lisboa. Portugal 2003), p. 752.

In spite of the vast investment of the last decade and a half Portugal still lacks good basic education programs and its working age population ... does not participate in or take advantage of advanced job training programs.¹⁴⁶⁹

Portugal's peripheral position in the EU depicts differences in the national religious profile compared with countries such as France, Germany the Netherlands and the United Kingdom not only in the economy but also in human rights and freedom of religion. Luís Pais Bernardo and Maarten Vink argue in *The accommodation of Islam in Portugal and Ireland: institutional configurations and religious diversity* that Portugal is "Structurally different ... Confessional patterns, religious diversity profiles, secularization processes and the interplay between religious and institutional structures are different".¹⁴⁷⁰

Portugal is essentially a Roman Catholic country in which "Roman-Catholic churches have hierarchal and authoritarian structures; those are much less pronounced in Protestant countries",¹⁴⁷¹ according to Axel Dreher, Martin Gassebner and Lars-H. R. Siemers in *Globalization, Economic Freedom and Human Rights*. As Dreher *et al* Gassebner and Siemers point out, "Protestant societies may be more tolerant... Protestants show greater concern for social interactions, in terms of at least social control, rule of law and homogeneity of values".¹⁴⁷² Addressing the links between economic freedom and human rights Dreher *et al* use the case of the Iberian¹⁴⁷³ countries compared with Protestant and they add that, "Different ecclesiastic organizations and traditions could affect the average respect its members have for human rights; especially in relation to followers of a different religion... Respect is reduced when minorities are subject to repression".¹⁴⁷⁴ Due to her peripheral position within Europe Portugal was obliged to balance her policies but also to engage with her former colonies. There are specific advantages of Portugal being a member state of the CPLP which is discussed next.

4.4.1.2 Advantages of being a member state of the CPLP

Portugal has developed policies to maintain her ties with her former colonies by becoming a member state of the CPLP. Monteiro points out that the reasons for the

¹⁴⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷⁰ Bernardo, Luís Pais and Maarten Vink, *The accommodation of Islam in Portugal and Ireland: institutional configurations and religious diversity*, (Paper in: Institute of Social Sciences, University of Lisbon. [Portugal]. 2010), p. 4.

¹⁴⁷¹ Dreher, Axel, Martin Gassebner and Lars-H. R. Siemers, *Globalization, Economic Freedom and Human Rights*, (Paper: Centre for European, Governance and Economic Development Research, CEGE. Discussion Papers. Georg-August-Universität, Göttingen. Germany. Number 115, October 2010), p. 7.

¹⁴⁷² Ibid.

¹⁴⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷⁴ Ibid.

creation of the CPLP,¹⁴⁷⁵ “The seven [countries] have a huge common heritage of affection and time has also come to cement a growing shared interests, which may well help to the welfare of our respective countries”.¹⁴⁷⁶ He adds that¹⁴⁷⁷ “In the seven capitals there is an awareness of the growing importance of multilateralism: the CPLP can and should be a multilateral ‘*sui generis*’ instance, with its own characteristics, innovative on the international scene”.¹⁴⁷⁸ Monteiro states,¹⁴⁷⁹

The institutionalization of the Community [CPLP] materializes a common purpose: to project to the international scene the special bonds of brotherhood and solidarity that unite Brazil, the PALOPs¹⁴⁸⁰ and Portugal, while demonstrating the value of a historical bond and a heritage resulting from a multi-secular coexistence.¹⁴⁸¹

The general objectives of the CPLP are clear;¹⁴⁸² apart from promoting the Portuguese language internationally, it envisions diplomatic, social, cultural and economic cooperation, in line with the development of its peoples as well as the presence of the CPLP countries in international forums. The establishment of the CPLP is increasingly reaching out to the citizens who are travelling and interacting with citizens of other countries, which will be discussed later in this thesis. The CPLP permitted Brazilians to immigrate to Portugal, engaging in spreading their Evangelical/Pentecostal faith and establishing churches. One example of how the citizens’ interaction with CPLP countries is the establishment of Military Evangelicals of Portugal (Militares Evangélicos de Portugal – MEP) with encouragement from Brazil which is studied below.

1475 Original text in Portuguese: “Dispomos a sete de um imenso património comum de afetividade e o tempo tem vindo também a cimentar uma crescente partilha de interesses, que bem pode ajudar ao bem-estar dos nossos respetivos países”.

1476 Monteiro, António, *A Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa*, (Article: Instituto de Defesa Nacional. <http://comum.rcaap.pt/>. Accessed on 13 April, 2014), p. 49.

1477 Original text in Portuguese: “Há nas sete capitais consciência da importância crescente do multilateralismo: a CPLP pode e deve constituir uma instância multilateral ‘*sui generis*’, com características próprias, inovadoras na cena internacional”.

1478 Monteiro, António, *A Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa*, Op. cit.

1479 Original text in Portuguese: “A institucionalização da Comunidade materializa um propósito comum: projetar na cena internacional os laços especiais de fraternidade e solidariedade que unem o Brasil, os PALOP e Portugal, valorizando assim um vínculo histórico e um património conjunto resultantes de uma convivência multissecular”.

1480 PALOP is the acronym for African Countries of Official Portuguese Language (Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa).

1481 Monteiro, António, *A Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa*, Op. cit.

1482 Ibid.

4.4.1.3 The establishment of the Military Evangelicals of Portugal (Militares Evangélicos de Portugal – MEP) supported from Brazil

The Military Evangelicals of Portugal (Militares Evangélicos de Portugal – MEP) is an organization that had its origin¹⁴⁸³ from a group of Evangelical military of the Portuguese Air Force who met for prayers and fellowship since 1971 at Base Aérea Nº1 – OTA. However, it was only as a consequence of the 1974 Revolution that the MEP was established on 18 September, 1994. The interaction provided by the CPLP paved the way for the establishment of MEP because it was encouraged by the president of its Brazilian counterpart Major Dr Ref. José Almeida the Military Evangelicals of Brazil (Militares Evangélicos do Brasil – MEB).¹⁴⁸⁴ The MEP obtained its registry on 30 June, 2004.¹⁴⁸⁵ The MEP's vision in support of Evangelical chaplains in the Portuguese Armed Forces and Security is now fruitful as the first of these Evangelical chaplains got their Diplomas on 26 September, 2015 at Association New Life (Associação “Nova Vida”) in Odivelas.¹⁴⁸⁶

The CPLP produced a different culture which emerged during the Portuguese integration with the EU, providing a greater international identity to the Portuguese citizen, which promoted pride, identity and freedom. From 1986 to 1997 those living in Portugal increasingly experienced social and economic development.

4.4.2 SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT EXPERIENCED FROM 1986 TO 1997

Portuguese reforms produced partial social and economic development and consequently the country became part of the affluent nations of the world which had an impact on the respect for religious freedom. However, the Portuguese questioned whether they in fact were affluent or in a process of social and economic development in which the citizens only regained national pride and the assertive spirit that will be addressed below.

1483 Freire Cor. Res^a V., Ed., *Como Começamos?* (Information: Militares Evangélicos de Portugal, online portal, <http://www.militaresevangelicos.com/>. Accessed on 30 September, 2015).

1484 Ibid.

1485 Ibid.

1486 [?], *Odivelas – Entrega de Diplomas a Novos Capelães*, (Anedoctal information: Odivelas Municipal online portal, <http://odivelas.com/>. Accessed on 30 September, 2015).

4.4.2.1 The affluence of Portugal

The social and economic development of Portugal compared with what it was in 1974 was evident with the building of new highways, bridges, dams and factories. From 1986 the EU advanced finance for the new infrastructure of the country. Finance from the EU appeared to be endless, but the Portuguese lost sight of the fact that part of this finance had to be reimbursed and would consequently lead the country into a state of crisis. The Portuguese people considered themselves to be affluent, however, there were serious economic problems according to Pedro S. Martins in *Improving Achievement through Targeted, Non-Cognitive Skills: Evident From the Epis Program*,

It is well known [that] the problem of high levels of failure and drop [that] the Portuguese education system is facing. This complicates the convergence of capital levels of human labour market in Portugal in relation to European Union standards and delays approximation of the Portuguese economy to such levels of prosperity.¹⁴⁸⁷

The *nouveau riche* Portuguese engaged in extensive travel and tourism across Europe. Very significant question was “For how long would this euphoria last among the Portuguese people?” They refused manual jobs which resulted in attracting immigrants from Brazil, from the PALOP and others from Eastern Europe. A sudden alteration of social reality became apparent everywhere in Portugal even in small villages, where newspapers in foreign languages were sold, with the result there were a number of new scenarios raised. With the influx of the foreigners, various religions were brought into the country which gave rise to a number of religious institutions being established. With this assumed affluence the Portuguese gained a false sense of national pride, a new identity and an assertive spirit.

4.4.2.2 National pride, new identity and assertive spirit

The Portuguese gained their sense of national pride from the progress reached since the dismantling of the Empire and individuals became assertive rather than the submissive as they were in the previous New State dispensation. The Portuguese society appeared to be similar to that of their counterparts in France and elsewhere in Europe.

The human organism evolves within the framework of society with its conventions and ethical conceptions which are mutually transmitted by education and respected by

¹⁴⁸⁷ Martins, S. Pedro, *Improving Achievement Through Targeted, Non-Cognitive Skills: Evident From the Epis Program*, (Paper: Desenvolvimento Económico Português no Espaço Europeu. Conferência do Banco de Portugal. Banco de Portugal – Euro sistema. Lisboa. [Portugal]. 14 de Maio de 2010), p. 3.

society. It is precisely in this framework of reference that gives rise to the concept of person, according to Fonseca,¹⁴⁸⁸

The comprehensive picture established for the human being is one of an organism that comes to life, endowed with automatic survival mechanisms and to which education and acculturation adds a set of decision-making strategies that promote the survival and underpin the construction of a *person*.¹⁴⁸⁹

If the Portuguese nation was restrained by the New State regime now the national character was rebuilt which Fonseca describes as,¹⁴⁹⁰ “The recreation of *national character*”.¹⁴⁹¹ The Portuguese were no longer passive agents, merely reacting to the stimulus coming from the outside world; they regained the capacity to act by controlling the physical and socio-cultural environment in which they lived. They no longer were simply heirs of the national character and cultural identity but now the Portuguese were actively involved in making a rational/sentimental construct of what they conceive as the new national character. The new strategies that they used to deal with the challenges and contingencies of present political, religious and economic historical realities were an expression of what they thought was the Portuguese national character.¹⁴⁹²

In Fonseca’s opinion, human development at individual level is the sociological and anthropological product of society, but, it also happens within the¹⁴⁹³ “View of the individual as an active agent in determining his or her identity and what makes it up”.¹⁴⁹⁴ Therefore, the Portuguese interpreted their new national character by expressing their thoughts, sentiments, and actions according to personal values and significance in terms of personal interests and they believed that they were truly expressing their new national character.¹⁴⁹⁵ Thus, the Portuguese people were free as individuals and for them to think outside the traditional parameters was no longer a societal anathema, they were definitively free. With freedom expressed at personal level the Portuguese religious

1488 Original text in Portuguese: “O quadro compreensivo que [se] estabelece para os seres humanos é o de um organismo que surge para a vida, dotado de mecanismos automáticos de sobrevivência e ao qual a educação e a aculturação acrescentam um conjunto de estratégias de tomada de decisão que favorecem a sobrevivência e servem de base à construção de uma *pessoa*”.

1489 Fonseca, António M., *Do Carácter Nacional à Expressão das Diferenças Individuais*, ([?]. <http://www.oi.acidi.gov.pt/>. Accessed on 14 April, 2014), p. 19.

1490 Original text in Portuguese: “A recriação do *carácter nacional*”.

1491 Fonseca, António M., *Do Carácter Nacional à Expressão das Diferenças Individuais*, Op. cit.

1492 Ibid., p. 20.

1493 Original text in Portuguese: “visão do indivíduo como um agente ativo na determinação da sua identidade e daquilo que a compõe”.

1494 Fonseca, António M., *Do Carácter Nacional à Expressão das Diferenças Individuais*, Op. cit.

1495 Ibid.

pluralism emerged rapidly to which major Pentecostal/Charismatic events contributed to religious proliferation.

4.5 MAJOR PENTECOSTAL / CHARISMATIC EVENTS AND GENERAL RELIGIOUS PROLIFERATION

Major Pentecostal/Charismatic events took place in Portugal during the conservative modernization period under scrutiny (1986-1997). The following discussion of these historical Pentecostal/Charismatic events is relevant for this thesis, because it informs of the development of non-Roman Catholic forms of Christianity in the country as well as religious proliferation in general. Rooted in this period is the basis for the adoption of the future *Religious Freedom Act* which is discussed in depth in Chapter Five. Therefore, the impact of major Pentecostal/Charismatic events on religious proliferation including the establishment of the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God is discussed and a list of new Christian entities and other faiths established in the country is inserted below.

4.5.1 THE IMPACT OF MAJOR PENTECOSTAL/CHARISMATIC EVENTS ON RELIGIOUS PROLIFERATION

Three major Pentecostal/Charismatic events encouraged religious proliferation in Portugal. The Pentecostal European Conference (PEK – 1987) was organized by the Assemblies of God for the participation of their European counterparts. The Euro Fire Conference in Lisbon (1990) was organized by Evangelist Reinhard Bonnke and Christ for All Nations (CfaN) which attracted the participation of Charismatic as well as Pentecostal denominations. The Conventions of Faith (Convenção de Fé) were organized by the Manna Church (Igreja Maná) which also encouraged religious proliferation.

4.5.1.1 The VI Pentecostal European Conference (PEK - 1987)

Non-Roman Catholic Christians such as the Assemblies of God were no longer alone; effective interaction was now possible with its impact to advance the proliferation of new Assembly of God churches in the country. Since Portugal was a member state of the EU, the European Assemblies of God asked their Portuguese counterpart to organize the VI

Pentecostal European Conference (PEK).¹⁴⁹⁶ This major Pentecostal/Charismatic event was held in Lisbon from 22 to 26 July, 1987 with the participation of hundreds of delegates from across European countries as well as thousands of members of the Portuguese Assembly of God, “Over 8,000 people attended this conference”.¹⁴⁹⁷ The VI Pentecostal European Conference (PEK) was a success in Portugal and an important event in the history of the European Pentecostalism which is underlined by the online portal of the Pentecostal European Fellowship (PEF), of which a short discussion follows.

In 1966 an organization named European Pentecostal Fellowship (EPF) was established, “Under the chairmanship of ... Rev Eric Dando”,¹⁴⁹⁸ which “Developed into an annual fraternal gathering of Pentecostal leaders across Europe”.¹⁴⁹⁹ Subsequently, Lewi Pethrus formed another Pentecostal organization in 1969 known as PEC, “The ... Pentecostal European Conference ... [was established by] Pastor Lewi Pethrus ... who appointed Rev Jacob Zopfi ... as the chairman of PEC, a triennial conference held in numerous European cities”.¹⁵⁰⁰ These two European Pentecostal organizations amalgamated during the Lisbon conference in 1987,

In 1987, the two streams EPF and PEC merged into the PEF [Pentecostal European Fellowship]. Jacob Zopfi served as its Chairman ... The Pentecostal European Fellowship (PEF) ... was formed in 1987 during the PEC in Lisbon (Portugal).¹⁵⁰¹

Despite the popularity of the VI Pentecostal European Conference (PEK) in the city of Lisbon the Portuguese media ‘was conspicuous by its absence’. The absence of the media to cover the event surprised the leaders of the Conference as it was thirteen years after the 1974 Revolution. Fernando Martinez, the editor of *NA – Novas de Alegria*, did not understand why an international event such as the PEK was not covered by National Television RTP,¹⁵⁰²

1496 Pinheiro, Samuel, *Um Século Pentecostal*, (Information: O Melhor de Tudo, Coletânea de textos 1973-2003, (CD) Compact Disk edited by the author, [Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa. Lisbon, Portugal.] 2003).

1497 Da Silva, F. C., *A Study of the Charismatic Movement in Portugal with Particular Reference to the Fraternal Association*, Op. cit., p. 113.

1498 [?], *25th Anniversary of the Pentecostal European Fellowship*, (Information: Pentecostal European Fellowship (PEF). Belgium. <http://pef.eu/>. Accessed on 16 April, 2014).

1499 Ibid.

1500 Ibid.

1501 Ibid.

1502 Original text in Portuguese: “A Rádio Televisão Portuguesa ignorou pura e simplesmente uma conferência europeia de natureza cristã evangélica, ocorrida nas instalações da Feira Internacional de Lisboa, nos dias 22 a 26 de Julho. A R.T.P. menosprezou a

The Portuguese Radio Television [RTP] simply ignored a European conference of Evangelical Christian nature, occurring on the premises of the International Fair of Lisbon on 22 to 26 July. The R.T.P. misjudged the largest international conference ever held amongst us, which was attended by delegations from more than two dozen countries in Europe.¹⁵⁰³

The VI Pentecostal European Conference (PEK) had¹⁵⁰⁴ “More than 8000 people”,¹⁵⁰⁵ comprising European delegates¹⁵⁰⁶ “Including Christians who came from many other nations of the world”,¹⁵⁰⁷ (Martinez). Therefore, since Portugal was a member state of the EU why did the Portuguese media ignore the event? Could it perhaps be¹⁵⁰⁸ “Discrimination against Evangelical Portuguese Christians?”¹⁵⁰⁹ Martinez questions,¹⁵¹⁰ “Why is this deliberate unwillingness to report on the National Television events organized by Protestants – the largest religious force in our country after Roman Catholicism?”¹⁵¹¹ Martinez states that the VI Pentecostal European Conference (PEK) was the European summit of a Christian denomination which represented over one and a half million members across Europe,¹⁵¹² “It is a fact that the Evangelical Family of Pentecostal confession, in Europe, with over a million and a half of the faithful ... represents little or nothing for RTP”.¹⁵¹³

The PEK Lisbon Conference boosted Portuguese Pentecostalism in the country by providing a new European status for Pentecostal denominations including the Assemblies of God. Portuguese Pentecostals were no longer alone; they were a significant part of the European religious trend known as the Pentecostals, which was something unthinkable a few years earlier. However, the event also demonstrated that by 1987 the Portuguese media including public media such as the RTP continued to ignore and discriminate against Protestants, Evangelicals and Pentecostals. Portuguese public media, however, is

maior conferência internacional jamais celebrada entre nós, à qual assistiram delegações de mais de duas dezenas de países da Europa”.

1503 Martinez, Fernando, *A Notícia Que a R.T.P. Não Quis Dar*, (News report: NA Novas de Alegria. Ano 46 – nº 536. Setembro 1987. Lisboa. [Portugal]), p. 3.

1504 Original text in Portuguese: “mais de 8000 pessoas”.

1505 Martinez, Fernando, *A Notícia Que a R.T.P. Não Quis Dar*, Op. cit.

1506 Original text in Portuguese: “incluindo ... cristãos oriundos de muitas outras nações do mundo”.

1507 Martinez, Fernando, *A Notícia Que a R.T.P. Não Quis Dar*, Op. cit.

1508 Original text in Portuguese: “Porquê este ato discriminatório contra os cristãos evangélicos portugueses?”.

1509 Martinez, Fernando, *A Notícia Que a R.T.P. Não Quis Dar*, Op. cit.

1510 Original text in Portuguese: “Porquê a deliberada má vontade da Televisão estatizada para com os protestantes – a maior força religiosa no nosso país depois do Catolicismo Romano?”.

1511 Martinez, Fernando, *A Notícia Que a R.T.P. Não Quis Dar*, Op. cit.

1512 Original text in Portuguese: “É um facto que a Família Evangélica de confissão pentecostal, na Europa, que conta com mais de milhão e meio de fiéis ... pouco ou nada representa para a R.T.P”.

1513 Martinez, Fernando, *A Notícia Que a R.T.P. Não Quis Dar*, Op. cit.

supported by the national budget to which the Evangelical and Pentecostal citizens contribute with their taxes. Just three years later the Euro Fire Lisbon '90 Conference was another major Charismatic event, held again in Lisbon which encouraged Charismatic religious proliferation.

4.5.1.2 The Euro Fire Lisbon '90 Conference

The Euro Fire Lisbon '90 Conference was organised by Reinhard Bonnke and his Christ for All Nations (CfaN) evangelistic team. Christ for All Nations (CfaN) is an organization established by the Evangelist Reinhard Bonnke, a German citizen who after eight years of ministry as a missionary in Lesotho had an extraordinary vision, “In 1972 ... [Bonnke saw] a picture of the continent of Africa washed clean in the blood of Jesus... [After that vision] he had only one aim – to spread the Gospel through Africa, from Cape to Cairo”.¹⁵¹⁴ The “‘Largest tent in the world’, according to the Guinness Book of Records, was dedicated for the work of the Lord on 18 February, 1984... [It] has room for 34,000 people”.¹⁵¹⁵ According to the CfaN online portal,

[The ministry] in Africa gave Christ for All Nations the faith for a spiritual renewal in Europe... [Therefore,] CfaN organized Fire Conferences with the goal of motivating Christians in Europe for evangelism. Euro Fire '87 in Frankfurt, Germany, and Euro Fire '88 in Birmingham, England, set the trend for the evangelization of Europe.¹⁵¹⁶

Portuguese Assemblies of God pastors participated in the Euro Fire Conferences held in Frankfurt and Birmingham, which initiated spiritual renewal of their Pentecostalism and resulted on an initial wave of dissidence in their denomination from 1988 to 1989.¹⁵¹⁷ Pastor Óscar Segura attended¹⁵¹⁸ the Birmingham Euro Fire Conference in 1988 and was interviewed, concerning his participation. Segura states,¹⁵¹⁹ “I think the Euro Fire conferences in Frankfurt in 1987 and that in Birmingham in 1988 in some way impacted the vision of the pastors who participated ... which expanded the action of the Gospel in

1514 Bonnke, Reinhard, *How it began*, (Information: International Ministry of Evangelist Reinhard Bonnke. Christ for All Nations. Frankfurt am Main, Germany. <http://www.bonnke.net/>. Accessed on 16 April, 2014).

1515 Ibid.

1516 Ibid.

1517 Da Silva, F. C., *A Study of the Charismatic Movement in Portugal with Particular Reference to the Fraternal Association*, Op. cit., p. 113.

1518 Original text in Portuguese: “Eu penso que as conferências Euro Fire de Frankfurt em 1987 e de Birmingham em 1988 de alguma forma tiveram impacto na visão dos pastores que participaram em ambas. A visão dos pastores foi ampliada em relação à ação do Evangelho dentro do Pentecostalismo Eu participei na Conferência de Birmingham”.

1519 Original text in Portuguese: “Eu penso que as conferências Euro Fire de Frankfurt em 1987 e de Birmingham em 1988 de alguma forma tiveram impacto na visão dos pastores que participaram ... [a qual] foi ampliada em relação à ação do Evangelho dentro do Pentecostalismo”.

Pentecostalism”,¹⁵²⁰ (*Interview 22 See Interviews Conducted*). Segura adds,¹⁵²¹ “I was struck by the spiritual environment ... [and so I] was one of the pastors ... to invite the next conference to Portugal”.¹⁵²²

The CfaN’s online portal corroborates the fact that the Euro Fire conferences transformed Pentecostalism into a Charismatic movement across European states and the Euro Fire held in Lisbon in 1990 had probably a greater impact, “The Conference in Lisbon, Portugal in August 1990 had a long-term effect beyond the national borders”.¹⁵²³ The Euro Fire Lisbon ’90 Conference inspired the revelation of new spiritual intensity to the Assembly of God pastors who participated and accentuated their theological and ecclesiastic differences relatively to traditional Pentecostalism. Pastor João Cardoso states in *A Study of the Charismatic Movement in Portugal with Particular Reference to the Fraternal Association*, “I believe that the Euro Fire ... came to accentuate differences ... because [it] was linked with ministries or preachers ... spiritually revived and renewed ministries”.¹⁵²⁴ Consequently, those Assembly of God pastors who participated in the Euro Fire Lisbon ’90 Conference left their denomination and established their own churches and ministries in a second dissidence wave from 1990 to 1993.¹⁵²⁵

The majority of the pastors who left the Assemblies of God affiliated with the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance”,¹⁵²⁶ while others “Joined the Manna Church (Igreja Maná) for a while, but none joined the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God – UCKG.”¹⁵²⁷

4.5.1.3 Faith Conventions (Convenção de Fé) organized by the Manna Church (Igreja Maná)

The Faith Conventions (Convenção de Fé)¹⁵²⁸ organized annually by the Manna Church had an impact transforming Portuguese Pentecostalism into the Charismatic movement that it is today. The various flows of Pentecostal/Charismatic trends including the Manna

1520 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 22 – Interview with Pastor Óscar Segura*, (Interview: conducted via email requested on 16 April, 2014 at 6:35 pm received on the same day at 10:32 pm), p. 1.

1521 Original text in Portuguese: “fui impactado com o ambiente espiritual ... [e] fui um dos pastores ... [a] convidar a próxima conferência para Portugal”.

1522 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 22 – Interview with Pastor Óscar Segura*, Op. cit.

1523 Bonnke, Reinhard, *How it began*, Op. cit.

1524 Da Silva, F. C., *A Study of the Charismatic Movement in Portugal with Particular Reference to the Fraternal Association*, Op. cit., p. 112.

1525 Ibid., p. 114.

1526 Ibid., p. 116.

1527 Ibid.

1528 [?], *Dia 13 CF13, Inauguração da CF13*, (Information: Igreja Maná online portal. Rua João Saraiva nº 30, 1700-250 Lisboa. [Portugal]. <http://www.igrejamana.com/>. Accessed on 17 April, 2014).

Church influenced the transformation of “The established traditional Pentecostalism in Portugal”.¹⁵²⁹

4.5.2 THE GLOBALIZATION OF A DIFFERENT CHRISTIAN EXPRESSION THROUGH THE UNIVERSAL CHURCH OF THE KINGDOM OF GOD

Television played a major role in exposing the Portuguese people to new international trends and ideas which contributed towards religious proliferation in Portugal. The Brazilian soap operas being broadcast by the RTP had an impact on the Portuguese society, who subsequently accepted the Brazilian accent and culture. In addition, the Portuguese society attempted to imitate the characters of the soap operas. This entire cultural transformation contributed towards religious proliferation, thus, relaxing the traditionalist, Roman Catholic characteristic of the Portuguese culture as discussed below.

4.5.2.1 The globalization of the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God and its presence in Portugal

The Universal Church of the Kingdom of God (UCKG) was established in Portugal in 1989¹⁵³⁰ as a result of the globalization of Pentecostal Protestantism. The success story of the globalization of Pentecostalism is mentioned by Ray Miller in *Globalization and the New Conquistadores*,

The explosive growth of the Pentecostal and Charismatic movements in the second half of the twentieth century, with some 500 million adherents worldwide, constitutes the fastest growing segment of present day Christianity.¹⁵³¹

Miller adds, “Within this sector the so-called ‘Third Wave’ of Neo-Pentecostal groups is at the forefront of this growth. Amongst the fastest growing of these is ... the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God (UCKG)”.¹⁵³²

With regard to the establishment of the UCKG in Portugal, Helena Vilaça states in *Notas de pesquisa para o estudo dos grupos religiosos minoritários em Portugal* that,¹⁵³³ “The

1529 Da Silva, F. C., *A Study of the Charismatic Movement in Portugal with Particular Reference to the Fraternal Association*, Op. cit., p. 99.

1530 Vilaça, Helena, *Notas de pesquisa para o estudo dos grupos religiosos minoritários em Portugal*, (Information: <http://ler.letras.up.pt/>. Accessed on 14 April, 2014), p. 40.

1531 Miller, Ray, *Globalization and the New Conquistadores*, (Paper: Global Connections GC. Warwickshire, [UK], online portal, <http://www.globalconnections.org.uk/>. Accessed on 8 July, 2015), p. 2.

1532 Ibid.

'80s are marked by the rapid expansion of two Neo-Pentecostal groups: the Manna Church, founded in 1984 by a Portuguese, running away from the rule of 'implantation', and the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God, that originated in Brazil and in Portugal since 1989".¹⁵³⁴ The denomination grew rapidly and boasts a membership of about thirty thousand. Vilaça has used a graphic with the Roman Catholic membership registered in the census from 1940 to 1991 as demonstrated in *Evolution of the Catholic Population*,¹⁵³⁵

From 1960 to 1981 there is a decrease of 17% of the [Roman] Catholic population (98% drops to 81%) and a depression, significantly more contained, in the following decade (3%). Other religions grow slowly, being noted tripling their number between 1960 and 1981. The political change of 1974 and the concomitant opening to the exterior can be understood as the more credible explanatory hypothesis for the growth of this group.¹⁵³⁶

According to Vilaça, political change in 1974 and the concomitant opening to the outside can be seen as the most credible explanatory hypothesis of growth of this group,¹⁵³⁷ of which the UCKG is a strong component. However, the establishment of the UCKG was challenged by resisting forces within Portuguese society resulting in conflict.

4.5.2.2 Conflicting relations between the UCKG and large sectors of the Portuguese society

The strategy for the establishment of the UCKG in Portugal was not well received by a large sector of the society, who reacted to its presence and ways of operating. Guilherme Mansur Dias states in *Expansão e Choque – A IURD e as Relações que Provoca em Portugal: Uma Análise Através da Média Portuguesa*,¹⁵³⁸

The strategies adopted by the UCKG to expand (rental of time slots in Portuguese radio stations, purchase of radios stations, printing of newspaper material, attacking other beliefs

1533 Original text in Portuguese: "Os anos 80 são marcados pela rápida expansão de dois grupos neopentecostais: a Igreja Maná, fundada em 1984 por um português, fugindo, assim, à regra da 'implantação' e a Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus, com origem no Brasil e em Portugal desde 1989".

1534 Vilaça, Helena, *Notas de pesquisa para o estudo dos grupos religiosos minoritários em Portugal*, (Information: <http://ler.letras.up.pt/>. Accessed on 11 April, 2014), p. 40.

1535 Original text in Portuguese: "Verifica-se de 1960 para 1981 um decréscimo de 17% da população católica (de 98% passa para 81%) e um abaixamento, significativamente mais contido, na década seguinte (3%). As outras religiões crescem mas lentamente, sendo ... de assinalar a triplicação do seu número entre 1960 e 1981. A mudança política de 1974 e a concomitante abertura ao exterior poderá ser entendida como a hipótese explicativa mais credível do crescimento deste grupo".

1536 Vilaça, Helena, *Notas de pesquisa para o estudo dos grupos religiosos minoritários em Portugal*, Op. cit., p. 42.

1537 Ibid.

1538 Original text in Portuguese: "As estratégias adotadas pela IURD para se expandir (aluguer de horários em emissoras portuguesas, compra de rádios, impressão de material jornalístico, ataque a outras crenças e religiões, etc.) não foram, entretanto, plenamente aceitas pela sociedade civil portuguesa. Houve, então, uma série de reações à igreja e a seus fiéis por parte da população e média portuguesas".

and religions, etc..) were not, however, fully accepted by the Portuguese civil society. There were a series of reactions from the population and media towards the church and their faithful.¹⁵³⁹

The problems began in 1992¹⁵⁴⁰ and the explanation given by Dias is that¹⁵⁴¹ “All this reaction is linked to a (Portuguese) society both Roman Catholic and anticlerical to the fact that the UCKG is a Brazilian institution and aims at taking Portugal”.¹⁵⁴² This particular news was covered by Portuguese media according to Dias,¹⁵⁴³ “In a (re)conquest of Portuguese-speaking countries ... all these elements are recurrent in articles published by the media of Portugal from 1992”.¹⁵⁴⁴ The impact of globalization on Portuguese society is probably stronger in religion and its growing religious diversity. Andrew Dawson states in *Religion, Globalization and Modernity: From Macro-Processes to Micro-Dynamics*, “Perhaps the most significant macro-structural development is the growing religious diversification”.¹⁵⁴⁵ An analogy may be drawn between the Roman Catholic based Argentinean society and the Portuguese society, as Hans Geir Aasmundsen points out in *Pentecostalism, Globalisation and Society in Contemporary Argentina*,

Non-[Roman] Catholic religion had ‘gone unnoticed’ in studies ... because of the Catholic dominance... With the general changes in ... [Portuguese] society ... since re-democratization, the other religions had grown and, just as importantly, had become visible.¹⁵⁴⁶

There were, however, other manifestations of religious proliferation in Portugal during the period of conservative modernisation (1986-1997).

1539 Dias, Guilherme Mansur, *Expansão e Choque – A IURD e as Relações que Provoca em Portugal: Uma Análise Através da Mídia Portuguesa*, (Paper: Ginásio Multidisciplinar da UNICAMP. XI Congresso Interno de Iniciação Científica da UNICAMP. Instituto de Filosofia e Ciências Humanas – IFCH, UNICAMP. 25-26 de Setembro, 2003. <http://www.prp.rei.unicamp.br/>. Accessed on 14 April, 2014), p. 1.

1540 Dias, Guilherme Mansur, *Expansão e Choque – A IURD e as Relações que Provoca em Portugal: Uma Análise Através da Mídia Portuguesa*, Op. cit.

1541 Original text in Portuguese: “Toda essa reação se vincula a uma sociedade (portuguesa) simultaneamente católica e anticlerical a ao facto da IURD ser uma instituição brasileira que incomoda por tomar Portugal”.

1542 Dias, Guilherme Mansur, *Expansão e Choque – A IURD e as Relações que Provoca em Portugal: Uma Análise Através da Mídia Portuguesa*, Op. cit.

1543 Original text in Portuguese: “numa (re)conquista dos países lusófonos... Todos esses elementos são recorrentes nas reportagens veiculadas pela mídia de Portugal a partir de 1992”.

1544 Dias, Guilherme Mansur, *Expansão e Choque – A IURD e as Relações que Provoca em Portugal: Uma Análise Através da Mídia Portuguesa*, Op. cit.

1545 Dawson, Andrew, *Religion, Globalization and Modernity: From Macro-Processes to Micro-Dynamics*, (Article: Estudos de Religião, v.28, nº 2, jul. - dez. 2014), p. 37.

1546 Aasmundsen, Hans Geir, *Pentecostalism, Globalisation and Society in Contemporary Argentina*, (Department of Literature, History of Ideas, and Religion. University of Gothenburg 36. 2013), p. 13.

4.5.3 SEVERAL MANIFESTATIONS OF RELIGIOUS PROLIFERATION AND A LIST OF NEW RELIGIOUS ENTITIES IN THE COUNTRY

The 1974 Revolution had a lasting impact on social and religious transformation in Portugal. The result was visible in the religious proliferation after Portugal entered the EU as a member state. Below follows a discussion on the historical information and religious transformation as well as a list of new Christian entities established in the country.

4.5.3.1 Religious transformation in Portugal

The Portuguese society like other European societies continued to engage in globalization and new religious entities were established, demonstrating the effectiveness of the liberty experienced in the country as a result of the 1974 Revolution. As Teresa Líbano Monteiro states in *Novas Identidades Religiosas e Espirituais na Sociedade Portuguesa*,¹⁵⁴⁷

Our society has been marked in recent decades by profound transformations, both in terms of social values and practices and also in terms of values and religious practices. These transformations have followed, albeit with uniqueness, major European trends... These two types of transformations ... social and religious ... albeit in a very different nature ... can be articulated.¹⁵⁴⁸

Democracy provided by the 25 April, 1974 Revolution had a profound impact on the transformation of society towards religious proliferation,¹⁵⁴⁹ “The democratic process inaugurated by the 25 April, 1974 Revolution had strong implications in the religious field”.¹⁵⁵⁰ However, the fact that Portugal became a member state of the EU definitively

1547 Original text in Portuguese: “A nossa sociedade tem sido marcada, nas últimas décadas, por transformações profundas, quer em termos de valores e práticas sociais, quer em termos de valores e práticas religiosos. Nestas transformações tem seguido, ainda que com singularidade, importantes tendências europeias... Estes dois tipos de transformações ... social ... [e] religioso ... ainda que de natureza muito diferente podem ... ser articulados”.

1548 Monteiro, Teresa Líbano, *Novas Identidades Religiosas e Espirituais na Sociedade Portuguesa*, (Article: Biosofia – Para uma compreensão da Vida, do Universo e do Homem. [Lisbon University Institute] – ISCTE. Lisboa, Portugal. <http://biosofia.net/>. Accessed on 20 April, 2014).

1549 Original text in Portuguese: “O processo democrático inaugurado pela revolução do 25 de Abril de 1974 teve fortes implicações no campo religioso”.

1550 Monteiro, Teresa Líbano, *Novas Identidades Religiosas e Espirituais na Sociedade Portuguesa*, Op. cit.

ensured the effects of globalization related to new ideas including religion. Monteiro describes this phenomenon thus,¹⁵⁵¹

The almost monolithic society in religious terms is replaced by another of proliferating new groups from different spiritual vocation distinct from the [Roman] Catholic Church, be it of Christian reference ... be it of oriental reference.¹⁵⁵²

Monteiro adds that from 1986 onwards there was religious¹⁵⁵³ “Diversification of choice”.¹⁵⁵⁴ In her opinion, the reasons for this profound religious transformation in Portuguese society were directly linked to the liberties granted by the Revolution¹⁵⁵⁵ which were based¹⁵⁵⁶ “On the movements of social re-composition that cross our society”,¹⁵⁵⁷ as well as in¹⁵⁵⁸

The transition of populations from rural areas to other sectors of the economy, the incipient industrialization and rapid rise of the tertiary sector experienced in the last 30 years by Portuguese society, the contextualized condition at the macro level, the changes seen in the practices and values, social, religious and spiritual.¹⁵⁵⁹

The Portuguese middle class rose with new values and better education, adopting the characteristics of the Western societies¹⁵⁶⁰ “Resulting from the growth of the tertiary sector, the increasing intervention of the State and the introduction of new technologies, come the new middle classes”,¹⁵⁶¹ (Monteiro). However, she highlights the fact that the personal transformation of individuals was also profound and provided a different outlook,¹⁵⁶²

Since April 25 ... in terms of practices and social values, there are trends ... such as the accentuation of individual autonomy and freedom in terms of privacy, acceleration and

1551 Original text in Portuguese: “A uma sociedade quase monolítica em termos religiosos, substitui-se outra em que proliferam novos grupos de vocação espiritual distintos da Igreja Católica, seja de referência cristã ... seja de referência oriental”.

1552 Monteiro, Teresa Líbano, *Novas Identidades Religiosas e Espirituais na Sociedade Portuguesa*, Op. cit.

1553 Original text in Portuguese: “diversificação da escolha”.

1554 Monteiro, Teresa Líbano, *Novas Identidades Religiosas e Espirituais na Sociedade Portuguesa*, Op. cit.

1555 Ibid.

1556 Original text in Portuguese: “nos movimentos de recomposição social que atravessam a nossa sociedade”.

1557 Monteiro, Teresa Líbano, *Novas Identidades Religiosas e Espirituais na Sociedade Portuguesa*, Op. cit.

1558 Original text in Portuguese: “A desruralização, a industrialização incipiente e a rápida terciarização que nos últimos 30 anos caracterizam a sociedade portuguesa, condicionam e contextualizam, ao nível macro, as mudanças verificadas nas práticas e valores, tanto sociais, como religiosos e espirituais”.

1559 Monteiro, Teresa Líbano, *Novas Identidades Religiosas e Espirituais na Sociedade Portuguesa*, Op. cit.

1560 Original text in Portuguese: “Como resultado da terciarização, da crescente intervenção do Estado e da introdução das novas tecnologias, surgem as novas classes médias”.

1561 Monteiro, Teresa Líbano, *Novas Identidades Religiosas e Espirituais na Sociedade Portuguesa*, Op. cit.

1562 Original text in Portuguese: “Desde o 25 de Abril ... em termos de práticas e valores sociais, há tendências ... como sejam o acentuar da autonomia e liberdade individual no plano da vida privada, a aceleração e a maior visibilidade do protagonismo feminino (nomeadamente profissional) e as mudanças na forma de encarar a sexualidade e a relação com o corpo”.

greater visibility of female leadership (namely professional) and changes in the form of facing sexuality and the relationship with the body.¹⁵⁶³

The tendency in Western societies is for the person to be increasingly individualized,¹⁵⁶⁴ “The duty to adhere to truths received from above is, nowadays, less valued than the authenticity of the subject who seeks ‘his’ or ‘her’ own truth”.¹⁵⁶⁵ Initially religious ethical norms were set by religious institutions but now they are relative to the individual’s perception and accentuate the value of the individual’s search for meaning.¹⁵⁶⁶ Religion becomes an arena for competition due to its pluralistic offer and no longer as a source of personal cultural identification according to Robert Wuthnow in *Christianity in the 21st Century: Reflections on the Challenges Ahead*,

Pluralism becomes a kind of religious orientation itself, imposing norms of civility and tolerance on particularistic religious traditions... It has been common in the past for individuals to choose one particular religious orientation with which to identify.¹⁵⁶⁷

Wuthnow points out that in modern urban Western societies individuals have a choice between various religions and different cultural and philosophical trends, “Increasingly, however, it appears that individuals in modern societies are exposed to a variety of religious institutions and orientations”.¹⁵⁶⁸ Consequently, since in urban environments the individual is less subject to the pressure of the traditional opinion of others as happens in rural areas, the individual is free to choose without the fear of portraying a different personal outlook. In this regard Wuthnow states, “They may pick and choose particular elements from several different faiths and traditions. Their religious orientation therefore takes on a more personalized character”.¹⁵⁶⁹ This personalized religious character is no longer equal to what religious institutions had been teaching because individuals are free to form their personalized eclecticism in Wuthnow opinion,

Although some individuals work out highly coherent religious orientations that have internal consistency and integrity, it appears that the more common result of living in religiously pluralistic settings is a form of personalized eclecticism.¹⁵⁷⁰

And

1563 Monteiro, Teresa Lfano, *Novas Identidades Religiosas e Espirituais na Sociedade Portuguesa*, Op. cit.

1564 Original text in Portuguese: “O dever de aderir a verdades recebidas de cima é, hoje em dia, menos valorizado que a autenticidade do sujeito que procura a ‘sua’ verdade”.

1565 Monteiro, Teresa Lfano, *Novas Identidades Religiosas e Espirituais na Sociedade Portuguesa*, Op. cit.

1566 Ibid.

1567 Wuthnow, Robert, *Christianity in the 21st Century: Reflections on the Challenges Ahead*, (Oxford Paperbacks, Oxford University Press, Inc., New York, United States of America. 1993), p. 107.

1568 Ibid.

1569 Ibid.

1570 Ibid., pp. 107-108.

People become heteroglossic; that is, they gain the capacity to speak with many religious voices. Their religious orientations may not provide a guiding philosophy of life that maintains an orderly view of the world.¹⁵⁷¹

Consequently, Wuthnow points out that in some modern societies a bipolarisation of positions regarding religious preference may occur, even if “Religious orientations are becoming more diverse and eclectic as a result of cultural contact and mass communication”.¹⁵⁷²

Evidence also suggests that in some societies a basic polarization has emerged between those whose orientation involves traditionalistic, fundamentalist, or conservative norms, on one side, and those whose orientation involves progressive, modernisation or liberal norms, on the other side.¹⁵⁷³ (Wuthnow).

Pentecostal and Evangelical fundamentalism in Western societies is also changing, particularly related with its views regarding political involvement. For instance, a profound religious and theological transformation is under construction leading to a different approach to political involvement by Pentecostal fundamentalists who “In the past – and even many contemporary varieties – largely disdained political involvement”.¹⁵⁷⁴ Which Wuthnow explains thus,

Until the early 1970s, for example, fundamentalists in the United States had generally viewed the political domain with distrust, preferring to pray, rather than mounting public campaigns or even vote. At present it appears that fundamentalism is increasingly distinguished by political militancy”.¹⁵⁷⁵

This new international trend of political involvement by Pentecostal fundamentalists also established amongst Portuguese Pentecostals. There was an attempt to establish an ‘Evangelical’ political party in Portugal supported by the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God but that did not succeed.

There are three specific types of Christian denominations established in Portugal: those with a cultural and traditional outlook such as the Roman Catholic Church, the Methodist and the Presbyterian; those with a communitarian emphasis such as the Baptist and the Brethren; and, those more emotional such as the Assemblies of God, the Renewal Movement within the Roman Catholic Church, the Manna Church and the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God. In Monteiro’s opinion,¹⁵⁷⁶ “The Charismatic Renewal

¹⁵⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷² Ibid., p. 107.

¹⁵⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 112.

¹⁵⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷⁶ Original text in Portuguese: “O movimento do Renovamento Carismático é um resultado de como o neopentecostalismo atravessou a Igreja Católica, não tendo, no entanto, dado lugar a uma nova igreja”.

Movement is a result of how ...neo-Pentecostalism crossed the Roman Catholic Church; however, not having given rise to a new church”.¹⁵⁷⁷ It is imperative to point out that whatever was happening in religion during this historical period is a consequence of the 1974 Revolution and globalization. Globalization played its role in Portuguese Christianity of which the Manna Church and the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God have to be understood within the context of the globalization of Pentecostalism.¹⁵⁷⁸

4.5.3.2 Christian entities established in Portugal from 1986 to 1997

While the membership of the Roman Catholic Church continued to diminish, other Christian movements showed signs of consistent growth particularly the Pentecostal and Charismatic sectors of Christianity. As mentioned earlier, there was also the transformation of Pentecostal churches into Charismatic denominations. Therefore, the following is a historical discussion on Pentecostal/Charismatic growth, as well as the growth of other Christian denominations that were established during the period from 1986 to 1997, which include Neo-Pentecostals, Orthodox Churches and Para Church movements.

- A list of Pentecostal/Charismatic churches established from 1986 to 1997

As discussed earlier in this thesis the Portuguese Assemblies of God underwent through a period of dissidence from 1989 to 1992 when many pastors some with their churches were registered under different denominations. However, churches of belonging to other denominations were also registered with the Ministry of Justice. Due to unreliable information it was not possible to include a complete list of Pentecostal/Charismatic denominations as well as other religious entities that were established in the period under scrutiny. The following list of Pentecostal/Charismatic churches was compiled by the researcher from available literature which illuminates the fact that since becoming autonomous churches they were required be renamed by the Government.

¹⁵⁷⁷ Monteiro, Teresa Líbano, *Novas Identidades Religiosas e Espirituais na Sociedade Portuguesa*, Op. cit.

¹⁵⁷⁸ Ibid.

- (1) Omega Christian Church (Omega Igreja Cristã) was established in 1986¹⁵⁷⁹ “By Pastors Cees and Yolande Korver”.¹⁵⁸⁰ According to the older version of the online portal the church was established in “1986”.¹⁵⁸¹
- (2) Logos Christian Fellowship (Logos Comunhão Cristã) was established by Pastor James Reimer on 11 October, 1987 at Hotel Roma in Lisbon, Portugal.¹⁵⁸²
- (3) Alfa Evangelical Church (Igreja Evangélica Alfa), a former church of the Assembly of God established in “1981”¹⁵⁸³ was transformed in “1988”¹⁵⁸⁴ to the actual denomination by Pastor José Regra Azevedo.
- (4) Shalom Christian Church (Shalom Igreja Cristã) was an Assembly of God Church that was transformed into a Charismatic church by Pastor Paulo José Gama Cardoso in Figueira da Foz on January “1989”.¹⁵⁸⁵ This church later became a part of the Centro Cristão Vida Abundante (CCVA) denomination.¹⁵⁸⁶
- (5) Shalom Adonai Pentecostal Church (Igreja Pentecostal Shalom Adonai) was established by Pastor Manuel José Balcão Galvão after he left his ministry as the pastor of Anadia Assembly of God. Meetings began on “April 1989”¹⁵⁸⁷ at the cinema in Luso, with a congregation in Couço.
- (6) Live Church Assembly of God (Igreja Viva Assembleia de Deus) was affiliated to the Assembly of God of Setúbal. It was transformed into a Charismatic church and registered by Pastor Joaquim dos Santos Lucas da Silva in “1989”.¹⁵⁸⁸
- (7) Christ Apostolic Church Mount Zion (Igreja Apostólica de Cristo Monte Sião), established in Vialonga by Pastor F. C. da Silva in November “1989”¹⁵⁸⁹ with a

1579 Original text in Portuguese: “A Ómega Igreja Cristã foi fundada pelos Pastores Cees e Yolande Korver”.

1580 [?], *Ómega Igreja Cristã*, (Article: Ómega Igreja Cristã online portal. Barreiro. [Portugal]. <http://www.omegajacrista.com/>. Accessed on 7 May, 2014).

1581 [?], *Pr. Cees Korver*, (Information: Ómega Igreja Cristã old online portal. Barreiro. [Portugal]. <http://www.omegajacrista.com/>. Accessed on 7 May, 2014).

1582 *Logos Comunhão Cristã*, (Information: Rev James Reimer. Meeting at Sociedade Promotora. Lisboa. Portugal. <http://www.logoscc.org/>. Accessed on 25 April, 2014).

1583 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 23 – with Rev José Regra Azevedo*, (Conducted via email received on 26 April, 2014 at 8:29 pm), p. 2.
1584 Ibid.

1585 Da Silva, F.C., *Telephonic Interview 11 – with Rev Paulo da Gama Cardoso*, (Conducted on 25 April, 2014 at 6:48 pm).

1586 *CCVA na Figueira da Foz*, (Information: Pastor Luís Miguez, Figueira da Foz, Portugal. <http://www.figueiraccva.org/>. Accessed on 25 April, 2014).

1587 Da Silva, F. C., *Telephonic Interview 12 – with Ps Manuel José Balcão Galvão*, (Interview: held from my cell phone to his cell phone on 25 April, 2014 at 7:20 pm).

1588 Da Silva, F.C., *Telephonic Interview 13 – with Ps Joaquim dos Santos Lucas da Silva*, (Conducted on 25 April, 2014 at 6:48 pm).

congregation in Almeirim. He had been a pastor of the Assemblies of God in Guarda and in Coimbra.

(8) Fountain of Living Waters Christian Church (Igreja Cristã Manancial de Águas Vivas – ICMANV)¹⁵⁹⁰ was an Assembly of God Church that was registered as ICMANV in “1992”.¹⁵⁹¹

(9) Victorious Life Christian Church (Vida Vitoriosa Igreja Cristã) was established as the Assembly of God of Loures¹⁵⁹² “In January 1980”¹⁵⁹³ according to its online portal. Then,¹⁵⁹⁴ “On 5 January, 1992 the AD Loures [Assembly of God of Loures] was renamed Igreja Cristã Vida Vitoriosa Assembleia de Deus’ ... [and] on 22 June, 1997 ... the church was then called ‘Vida Vitoriosa Igreja Cristã’”.¹⁵⁹⁵ The church also gave administrative autonomy to various congregations which then became churches,¹⁵⁹⁶

In 1990 autonomy was given to the church in Odivelas... On 18th June 1996, the congregation of Santo António dos Cavaleiros received autonomy ... [In] 1997 ... the congregations of Fanhões and St. Julião do Tojal received autonomy... Elvas on 1st September 2010, the congregation began to be under the spiritual leadership of the Assembly of God Church of St. António dos Cavaleiros (Igreja Reviver).¹⁵⁹⁷

The Victorious Life Christian Church gave rise to a number of churches which are now autonomous.

1589 *Igreja Apostólica de Cristo – Monte Sião*, (Information: Pastors Teresa de Jesus and Luís Filipe Correia. Vialonga, Portugal. <http://igrejamontesiao.com.sapo.pt/>. Accessed on 25 April, 2014).

1590 Original text in Portuguese: “é uma associação religiosa sem fins lucrativos com cerca de 75 anos de história neste Concelho, registada [Assembleia de Deus de Cascais] com o nº 28 em 19/12/1978 no Ministério da Justiça, como Associação Religiosa não católica, nos termos do Decreto-Lei nº 594/74 de 7 de Novembro”.

1591 Da Silva, F.C., *Telephonic Interview 14 – with Ps Joaquim Leitão*, (Conducted on 25 April, 2014 at 08:08 pm).

1592 Original text in Portuguese: “Em Janeiro de 1980”.

1593 [?], *Sobre Nós*, (Information: Vida Vitoriosa Igreja Cristã. Loures. [Portugal]. <http://vida-vitoriosa.org/>. Accessed on 27 April, 2014).

1594 Original text in Portuguese: “A 5 de Janeiro de 1992, a AD de Loures, passou a ter a denominação ‘Igreja Pentecostal Vida Vitoriosa – Assembleia de Deus’ ... [e] a 22 de Junho de 1997, sob a liderança espiritual do anterior pastor, esta igreja passou a ser denominada de ‘Igreja Cristã Vida Vitoriosa’”.

1595 [?], *Sobre Nós*, Op. cit.

1596 Original text in Portuguese: “Em 1990 foi dada autonomia à Igreja em Odivelas... A 18 de Junho de 1996, a congregação de Santo António dos Cavaleiros recebeu autonomia... [Em] 1997 ... as congregações de Fanhões e S. Julião do Tojal receberam autonomia... Elvas, a 1 de Setembro de 2010, esta congregação passou a estar debaixo da liderança espiritual da Igreja AD de St. António dos Cavaleiros (Igreja Reviver) ”.

1597 [?], *Sobre Nós*, Op. cit.

- (10) New Covenant Christian Church (Nova Aliança Igreja Cristã) was established by Pastor Natálio Dias Marques in “1991”.¹⁵⁹⁸ He was a pastor of the Assembly of the God in Benfica (Lisbon).
- (11) Revive Evangelical Church (Igreja Evangélica Reviver), located in Santo António dos Cavaleiros was established¹⁵⁹⁹ “on 18 June, 1996”,¹⁶⁰⁰ according to the online portal of its mother church the Victorious Life Christian Church (Vida Vitoriosa Igreja Cristã).¹⁶⁰¹
- (12) Abundant Life Christian Centre (Centro Cristão Vida Abundante – CCVA) was initially a congregation of the Assembly of God of Lisbon and got its autonomy on 17 May 17, 1980 being registered as Pentecostal Assembly of God of Moscavide (Assembleia de Deus Pentecostal de Moscavide). According to the CCVA online portal,¹⁶⁰²
- Ten years later (1990), the influence of this church extended to the centre of the country, forcing a total alteration of the statutes and the church was renamed Centro Cristão Vida Abundante (Assembleia de Deus). In 1991, the church was no longer linked to any denominational structure and it is characterized as an open church.¹⁶⁰³
- (13) Jubilee Church (Igreja do Jubileu) had been an Assembly of God church since 1955. It was transformed into a Charismatic church in by Pastor José Manuel Brissos Lino in 1992.¹⁶⁰⁴
- (14) Firstborn Pentecostal Assembly (Assembleia dos Primogénitos Pentecostais), established by Pastor Abílio Francisco in [1991] at Rua de Vale Mansos, Coruche, [Portugal].¹⁶⁰⁵

1598 [?], *XXXI – Apóstolos no Exterior 7 – Apóstolos no Século XXI*, (Information: Ministério César Aquino Bezerra. Online portal. <http://www.ministeriocesar.com/>. Accessed on 7 May, 2014).

1599 Original text in Portuguese: “A 18 de Junho de 1996, a congregação de Santo António dos Cavaleiros recebeu autonomia da igreja de Loures, passando a ser denominada “Assembleia de Deus de Santo António dos Cavaleiros” (atualmente conhecida como “Igreja Reviver” (www.igrejaevangelica.org))”.

1600 [?], *Sobre Nós*, Op. cit.

1601 Original text in Portuguese: “A 18 de Junho de 1996, a congregação de Santo António dos Cavaleiros recebeu autonomia da igreja de Loures, passando a ser denominada “Assembleia de Deus de Santo António dos Cavaleiros” (atualmente conhecida como “Igreja Reviver” (www.igrejaevangelica.org))”.

1602 Original text in Portuguese: “Dez anos decorridos (1990), a influência desta estende-se até à zona centro do país, obrigando a uma alteração total dos estatutos, passando a chamar-se Centro Cristão Vida Abundante (Assembleia de Deus). Em 1991, deixa de estar ligada a qualquer estrutura denominacional, caracterizando-se como uma igreja aberta”.

1603 [?], *Historial*, (Information: Centro Cristão Vida Abundante. Lisboa. Portugal <http://www.ccva.org/>. Accessed on 28 April, 2014).

1604 [?], *Visão, Localização e História*, (Information: Igreja do Jubileu online portal. Setúbal. Portugal. <http://igrejadojubileu.wordpress.com/>. Accessed on 7 May, 2014).

1605 [?], *Assembleia dos Primogénitos Pentecostais*, (Information: Coruche, [Portugal]. <http://www.ignios.pt/>. Accessed on 27 April, 2014).

- (15) Alpha Omega Christian Church (Igreja Cristã Alfa Omega) was established in “199? [by] Pastora Laurinda”.¹⁶⁰⁶
- (16) Elim Christian Church (Elim Igreja Cristã) was established in [198?] in Leiria, by Pastor Américo Neves.¹⁶⁰⁷
- (17) The Pentecostal Assembly of God Philadelphia Church (Assembleia de Deus Pentecostal – Igreja Filadélfia) was the transformation of a congregation of the Assembly of God of Lisbon into an autonomous church under the leadership of late Pastor Paulino Verdilheiro on¹⁶⁰⁸ “17 November, 1989”,¹⁶⁰⁹ according to Pastor Jorge Jacinto.
- (18) City Christian Centre (Centro Cristão Cidade) was established by Pastor Mário Rui Boto in “1995”.¹⁶¹⁰
- (19) Riverside International Church is a church initiated in 1996 by Pastor Eddie Fernandes and other missionaries.¹⁶¹¹
 - List of Neo-Pentecostal denominations established from 1986 to 1997

There are Christian denominations which are not members of the COPIC or of the AEP which flow in a different manner; these are known as Neo-Pentecostals:

- (1) Charisma Charismatic Evangelical Church of Christ Charisma (Igreja de Cristo Evangélica Carismática – Khárisma) was established by Pastor Leonel Ferreira in Gaia in the late 1980.¹⁶¹²
- (2) “On 17 December, 1989”¹⁶¹³ the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God (Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus – IURD) was established.¹⁶¹⁴

1606 [?], *Seja Bem-vindo à Igreja Cristã Alfa e Ómega*, (Information: Igreja Cristã Alfa Ómega. Fafe. [Portugal].

<http://igrejacristaalfaomega.vacau.com/>. Accessed on 7 May, 2014).

1607 [?], *Elim Igreja Cristã*, (Information: Leiria, [Portugal]. <http://leiria.infoisinfo.com.pt/>. Accessed on 27 April, 2014).

1608 Original text in Portuguese: “17 de Novembro de 1989”.

1609 Da Silva, F. C., *Telephonic Interview 15 – with Rev Jorge Jacinto*, (Conducted on 27 April, 2014 at 08:49 pm).

1610 Original text in Portuguese: “Mário Rui Boto é uma pessoa apaixonada e comprometida com a causa de Cristo e da Sua Igreja. Em 1995, Mário Rui iniciou um pequeno grupo de reflexão bíblica, que se reuniam na sala da sua casa. Este grupo expandiu-se e em 2002 nasceu o Centro Cristão da Cidade”.

1611 [?], *Who We Are*, (Information: Riverside International Church. Online portal. Shopping Centre Galerias O Navegador. Cascais. [Portugal]. <http://www.riversideintchurch.com/>. Accessed on 7 May, 2014).

1612 [?], *Igreja de Cristo Evangélica Carismática – Khárisma*, Op. cit.

1613 *Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus*, (Information: Bispo Júlio de Freitas. Sede Internacional da Europa, Lisboa. [Portugal]. <http://iurd.pt/>. Accessed on 3 February, 2014).

- List of Orthodox Churches established in Portugal from 1986 to 1997

(1) The late 1980s saw the establishment of the Russian Orthodox Church Diocese of Korsoun (Igreja Ortodoxa Russa – Diocese de Korsoun Comunidade de todos os Santos).¹⁶¹⁵

- List of Para – Christian Movements established from 1986 to 1997

(1) The Remar Portugal Association (Associação Remar Portugal) with its specific ministry for marginalized citizens¹⁶¹⁶ was established in 1989.¹⁶¹⁷

The above lists represent the religious proliferation in Portugal during the period from 1986 to 1997. However, differences persist in state policy towards the Roman Catholic Church and other religious entities which is addressed next.

4.6 PERSISTING DIFFERENCES IN STATE POLICY TOWARDS THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AND OTHER RELIGIOUS ENTITIES

In spite of better conditions experienced as the result of religious freedom the state gave preferential treatment to the Roman Catholic Church and certain religious groups, however, Protestants were not part of the favoured few.

4.6.1 THE STATE’S CONTINUED SUPPORT OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

The Roman Catholic Church as well as other religions receives preferential treatment from the state which allocates public land to both while Protestants, Evangelicals and Pentecostals continue to be discriminated against. The state justifies their differentiated treatment of various religious persuasions and substantiates the understanding of religious freedom according to the following.

1614 Original text in Portuguese: “foi exatamente no dia 17 de Dezembro de 1989, aquando da inauguração da Igreja da Estrada da Luz [em Lisboa]”.

1615 Sokolov, Arsénio, *Igreja Ortodoxa Russa – Diocese de Korsoun. Comunidade de todos os Santos*, (Information: Lisboa. [Portugal]. <http://www.orthodoxportugal.org/>. Accessed on 31 December, 2013).

1616 Original text in Portuguese: “1989, a Associação Remar inicia o seu trabalho em Portugal”.

1617 [?], *Associação Remar Portugal*, (Information: Mem Martins, Portugal. <http://www.remar.pt/>. Accessed on 24 January, 2014).

One of the reasons for discrimination against non-Roman Catholic denominations and other religions is the *2004 Concordat* signed between the Holy See and the Portuguese Republic. The *Concordat* presupposes an ambiguous legal reality which affects and discriminates against religious confessions. In his article entitled *Liberdade Religiosa, Igrejas e Estado em Portugal* Jorge Miranda explains the legality of the State's policy concerning the various confessions established in the country. Miranda questioned whether there was conflict between the text of the *2004 Concordat* and the *Portuguese Constitution*.¹⁶¹⁸

The question which might be posed is this: to know if there are rules of the Concordat and ordinary legislation that disrespect the constitutional principles of religious freedom and equality; and in the event of this happening, achieving its replacement or the publication of new rules establishing freedom and equality.¹⁶¹⁹

According to Miranda, those responsible for the Constitutional order¹⁶²⁰ “They have pity with a different treatment of the various confessions, because of the actual weight they have on society ... of its diverse representation”.¹⁶²¹ However, Miranda also states that the Constitutional Judges do not accept¹⁶²² “A preferential treatment or, instead, discriminatory of this or that confession”.¹⁶²³ To put it in simply, the Constitutional Judges that are responsible for the Constitutional order permit the State to treat the Roman Catholic Church differently but not preferentially relatively to other religious entities established in the country. This position of the State with the support of the Constitutional Judges is not accepted by the leadership of non-Roman Catholic Christians including other religions. Many non-Roman Catholic leaders interviewed believe that the differential treatment by the state is both preferential and discriminatory. The Principal of the Bible Institute of the Assemblies of God Pastor Paulo Branco stated,¹⁶²⁴

1618 Original text in Portuguese: “A questão que pode suscitar-se é apenas esta: saber se há normas da Concordata e da legislação ordinária que desrespeitam os princípios constitucionais da liberdade e igualdade religiosa; e, na hipótese de isso acontecer, conseguir obter a sua substituição ou a publicação de novas normas que estabeleçam a liberdade e a igualdade”.

1619 Miranda, Jorge, *Liberdade Religiosa, Igrejas e Estado em Portugal*, (Article: Nação e Defesa. Revista do Instituto da Defesa Nacional – Portugal. Ano XI – nº 39 – Julho - Setembro de 1986. <http://www.idn.gov.pt/>. Accessed on 17 March, 2014), p. 130.

1620 Original text in Portuguese: “se compadecem com um tratamento diferenciado das várias confissões, em razão do peso real que têm na sociedade ... da sua diversa representatividade”.

1621 Miranda, Jorge, *Liberdade Religiosa, Igrejas e Estado em Portugal*, Op. cit.

1622 Original text in Portuguese: “um tratamento privilegiado ou, ao invés, discriminatório desta ou daquela confissão”.

1623 Miranda, Jorge, *Liberdade Religiosa, Igrejas e Estado em Portugal*, Op. cit.

1624 Original text in Portuguese: “Bem, a liberdade religiosa em Portugal, se queremos fazer uma análise crítica, é uma realidade apenas no papel. Claro que em Portugal não há perseguição por causa das pessoas serem desta ou daquela religião, mas o problema é que existe uma *Concordata* e uma *Lei*. A existir uma *Concordata* com a Igreja católica e uma *Lei* para todas as outras religiões já se está a violar o princípio da igualdade religiosa”.

Well, religious freedom in Portugal, if we make a critical analysis, it is a reality on paper only. Clearly that there is no persecution in Portugal because people are of this or that religion, but the problem is that there is a *Concordat* and a *Law*. That is, there is a *Concordat* for the [Roman] Catholic Church and an *Law* for all other religions which is already a violation of the principle of religious equality.¹⁶²⁵

Of the same opinion is Pastor Luís Reis who is the president of the National Convention of the Assemblies of God and a former president of the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance who considers that there is more tolerance but not real religious freedom. Reis states that “from a constitutional point of view, the *Portuguese Constitution* defends religious freedom, but, if when considered from a practical standpoint it appears that there is more tolerance. Consequently, non-Roman Catholic Christians we are tolerated and do not have true religious freedom. Compared with the Roman Catholic Church we are ... discriminated against”,¹⁶²⁶ (loose translation from Portuguese).

Dr Jorge Pinheiro, a Pentecostal leader, states that “The situation is not as ideal as it should be... [But,] in a general sense you may say that you have freedom of speech [and] freedom of religion”.¹⁶²⁷ Professor Fernando Nogueira Dias is a sociologist, who deals with the phenomenon of religion in Portugal, agrees with Pinheiro,¹⁶²⁸

It's strange and I would say this is a paradox. This is because the *Concordat* as we know is an agreement that the Portuguese State signed with the [Roman] Catholic Church. And this agreement assumes certain obligations by the State in relation to the [Roman] Catholic Church. So where is religious freedom when the Portuguese State has signed a *Concordat*? It signed an agreement with a particular church. This is another symptom that might lead us to think that there will not be a one hundred percent religious freedom.¹⁶²⁹

Consequently, in Dias' opinion the principle of religion is still to be properly implemented in Portugal, “This ... led us to think that our religious liberty will not be one hundred percent”.¹⁶³⁰ The same opinion has Professor Antunes de Sousa a philosopher and a Roman Catholic who argues that religious freedom is in the process of being established in Portugal; “I have some reservations ... on religious freedom... I

1625 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 2 – with Rev Dr Paulo Branco*, (Conducted in his office of Pastor Paulo Branco at Monte Esperança Instituto Bíblico das Assembleias de Deus (MEIBAD), Fanhões, Portugal, on 11 March, 2011), p. 1.

1626 Ibid., p. 1.

1627 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 15 – with Dr Jorge Nuno Lopes Pinheiro*, (Conducted at Santo António dos Cavaleiros, Loures, Portugal, on 31 March, 2011), p. 1.

1628 Original text in Portuguese: “É estranho e eu diria que isto é um paradoxo. Porque a *Concordata* como sabemos é um acordo que o Estado português tem com a Igreja Católica. E esse acordo pressupõe determinadas obrigações por parte do Estado relativamente à Igreja Católica. Então onde é que está a liberdade religiosa quando o Estado Português assina uma *Concordata*? Assina um acordo com uma determinada Igreja. Esse é mais um sintoma que talvez nos leve a pensar que liberdade religiosa a cem por cento não haverá.”.

1629 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 5 – with Professor Fernando Nogueira Dias*, (Conducted at his office at University Jean Piaget, Almada, Portugal, on 15 March, 2011), p. 3.

1630 Ibid.

cannot call it true religious freedom ... because it has the intention to be that but it is pretending”.¹⁶³¹ The debate continues in Portugal to date and will result in new legislation. However, an incident prompted the criticism of non-Roman Catholic Christians leaders when a prime property was allocated free of charge to the Lisbon Muslim Community for the erection of a mosque in the capital.

4.6.2 MUSLIMS’ ALLOCATED PRIME PROPERTY IN LISBON

In their allocation of prime public property for religious purposes the state authorities demonstrate differential as well as preferential treatment to certain religious groups. Many non-Roman Catholic Christian leaders have raised concerns regarding the allocation of prime property to the Roman Catholic Church in every town plan. What prompted this concern of the non-Roman Catholic leaders was the allocation of prime property to the Muslim Community in Lisbon who are a minority of 35,000 compared with the Protestant, Pentecostal and Charismatic who outnumber them (250,000) and did not receive any public land. Evangelicals and Pentecostals complain that, although their membership surpasses the Muslims, they are discriminated against in the distribution of public land for religious purposes. In an interview with Sheikh Dr David Munir, the Imam of the Central Mosque of Lisbon he stated that¹⁶³² “The land was donated by the City Council of Lisbon and [the mosque] was inaugurated in 1985”.¹⁶³³

The attribution of public land for religious purposes to the non-Roman Catholic Christian denominations is a political issue which still must be dealt with because these members of Portuguese society feel discriminated against. They argue that public land does not belong to the Roman Catholic Church, but to all Portuguese citizens, including Evangelicals, Pentecostals, and Charismatic, since their taxes contribute to the National Budget. Branco states,¹⁶³⁴ “The City Council gives land to Roman Catholics; but, gives no ground to almost anyone else”.¹⁶³⁵ There are, however, rare cases like that of the City

1631 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 7 – with Professor Antunes de Sousa*, (Conducted at his office at University Jean Piaget, in Almada, Portugal, on 21 March, 2011), p. 1.

1632 Original text in Portuguese: “O terreno foi doado pela Câmara Municipal de Lisboa e a inauguração foi em 1985”.

1633 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 28 – Entrevista com o Sheikh Dr David Munir*, (Conducted via email received on 13 May, 2014, at 10:10 am), p. 1.

1634 Original text in Portuguese: “O terreno é caríssimo. A Câmara Municipal dá terreno aos católicos mas não dá terreno a quase mais ninguém”.

1635 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 2 – with Rev Dr Paulo Branco*, Op. cit., p. 5.

Councils of Lagos and of Loures that allocated land to the Assembly of God in both cities for the building of temples. These are two cases out of 318 municipalities which beg the question, “Why is non-Roman Catholics not being allocated land for the erection of churches in all the remaining municipalities?” These two cases, however, are encouraging and indicate that an alternate policy is being gradually implemented due to the continued and consistent visibility of non-Roman Catholic Christians amidst prevailing remnant social hostility.

4.6.3 THE EVANGELICAL, PENTECOSTAL AND CHARISMATIC VISIBILITY AMIDST PREVAILING SOCIAL HOSTILITY

During the historical period being studied (1985-1997) the Evangelicals, Pentecostals and Charismatic Christians became increasingly visible in Portuguese society. In 1995 the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance organized a “March for Jesus” which drew the attention of the media. In addition, the “March for Jesus” attracted the attention of the Lisbon population as Evangelicals, Pentecostals and Charismatic proceeded from the Marquês de Pombal Plaza to the Restauradores Avenue and continued to the Rossio Plaza and finally congregated in the Lisbon Coliseum where they demonstrated their fervour for their faith in Jesus.

In the same year (1995), however, the Porto society displayed social hostility towards the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God (Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus – IURD). According to a news report published by *Diário de Notícias* on 5 August, 1995 entitled *Políticos, Intelectuais e Populares Reúnem-se no Porto Num Grito Unânime: Salvem o Coliseu*, thousands of people came to the street (Rua Passos Manuel) demanding that the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God abandon the idea of buying the Porto Coliseum. As a mark of opposition to the sale of the Porto Coliseum a popular singer Pedro Abrunhosa together with other celebrities chained themselves to the gates of the Porto Coliseum. Consequently, this radical action attracted media coverage. However, the news coverage highlighted the “March for Jesus” that was organized by the AEP in Lisbon in a favourable manner while not displaying the same positive understanding towards the UCKG.

4.7 SUMMARY OF CHAPTER FOUR

The discussion in chapter four addressed the period of conservative modernisation from 1986 to 1997, which included the meaning and consequences of the EEC membership to the Portuguese nation. An analysis of how the principle of religious freedom and human rights was dealt with in the *1989 Constitutional Revision* followed, and comprised the shift of the Portuguese national objectives into the modernisation supported by the *Maastricht Treaty* and the *1992 Constitutional Revision* as the EEC was transformed to the EU. A study of the Portuguese modernity and religious freedom followed within the framework of the Portuguese EU integration and the transformation followed. The EU ethos concerning human rights and the principle of freedom of religion was addressed as well as the Portuguese social development related with liberty. The CPLP was introduced as part of the explanation on the peripheral position of Portugal in Europe and the impact of economic growth on religious proliferation along with major Pentecostal and Charismatic events held in the country. The globalization of Pentecostalism was presented, which included its manifestation in Portugal that resulted in religious proliferation followed by a short list of Christian entities established during the period 1986 to 1997. Finally, an analysis of the persisting differences on state policy towards the Roman Catholic Church and other religious entities was discussed.

The study in Chapter Four includes an analysis of the meaning of Portugal being a member state of the EEC's as borders within Europe were removed and citizens travelled freely across European countries. During this historical period Portugal gained a new European identity developing into modernity as pressure mounted from ECC's directives. The new identity was secular with profound respect for human rights and religious freedom. Another source which contributed to Portuguese modernity was the globalisation of Pentecostalism settled in Portugal. The *1989 Constitutional Revision* changed the national objective from a "Republic in transition to socialism" towards "building a social democracy of European standard" while the *Maastricht Treaty* supported the efforts to modernise the country. Portuguese modernity enhanced religious freedom in Portugal which resulted in non-Roman Catholic religious entities to have access to teach their views in public schools. The quest for liberty and religious freedom in the EU integration process was scrutinised as well as the position of Portugal according to EU legislation and ethos concerning religion. European courts began to have

jurisdiction over Portugal including treaties, EU legislation and directives which enforced the concept of religious freedom in the country.

During the conservative modernisation from 1986 to 1997 was established in Portugal the Commission for the Reformation of the 1971 Religious Freedom Act which was addressed in Chapter Four. This Commission resulted from the *Collective Petition* to the National Parliament led by Magistrate José Dias Bravo an Evangelical pastor and the President of the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance. The establishment of the CPLP paved the way for other schools of thought to settle in Portuguese society as immigrants who arrived from Portuguese speaking countries such as Brazil. Major Pentecostal and Charismatic events took place in Portugal which strengthen the position of non-Roman Catholic Christianity such as PEK in 1987 and the Euro Fire Conference in Lisbon in 1990 as well as the Faith Conventions of the Manna Church. The establishment of the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God definitively altered the traditional Portuguese religious identity because of its social impact in the media. Religious proliferation continued in the country as the process of EU integration and Portuguese modernization gained momentum of which a list of religious bodies established during this historical period was included in Chapter Four.

However, the study in this chapter highlighted the persisting differences in state policy towards the Roman Catholic Church and other religious entities.

The next chapter discusses the liberalization modernisation in Portugal during the period from 1997 to 2009.

CHAPTER 5

THE LIBERALIZING MODERNIZATION PERIOD (1997-2009)

This Chapter addresses the “liberalizing modernization”¹⁶³⁶ period from 1997 to 2009 and includes the *1997* and *2001 Constitutional Revisions* related to religious freedom. In addition, this chapter will illustrate that the principle of religious freedom became relevant in Portugal as a result of the EU’s new understanding of secularism. The issue of human rights, as well as European courts, is addressed in this chapter associated with the effectiveness of the EU in dealing with religious discrimination. A discussion of Christian denominations that are involved in the re-evangelization and cultural reshaping of Europe along with religious demographics in Portugal as well as new legislation related to freedom of religion in the country is expounded upon. Included in this chapter is an historical overview of the religious spectrum in Portugal that includes a list of religious entities established in the country from 1997 to 2009.

The “liberalizing modernization”¹⁶³⁷ period (1997-2009) under scrutiny in this chapter corresponds to the Constitutional upgrade by the *1997* and *2001 Constitutional Revisions* which generated legal guidelines as well as interpretation concerning religion. National legislation on religious freedom was subject to European norms, which is investigated in this chapter according to new Portuguese legal framework related with religion. Therefore, the *Constitutional Revisions* of *1997* and *2001* reflected the impact of the EU directives on Portuguese legislation which nurtured and expressed the liberating spirit. Yet, the *Constitutional Revisions* of *1997* and *2001* still reflect persisting differences on the State’s policy towards the Roman Catholic Church as compared with other religious groups. Portuguese legislation related with religion has developed immensely since the *1976 Constitutional* text because Portugal is within the EU’s concern for religious freedom.

¹⁶³⁶ Chilcote, Ronald H., *The Portuguese Revolution: State and Class in the Transition to Democracy*, Op. cit., pp. 240-241.

¹⁶³⁷ Ibid.

5.1 PORTUGAL WITHIN THE EUROPEAN UNION'S CONCERN FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

From 1997 to 2009 the concept of religious freedom in Portuguese history was shaped by the country's membership of the EU through which European integration increasingly suppressed the traditional national identity of its member states. Therefore, for the purpose of this study it is relevant to briefly explicate the framework of the religious phenomenon in Europe, how the EU addresses the issue of religion as well as its impact on the legislation of the EU member states.

5.1.1 EUROPEAN TRADITION ON HOW TO DEAL WITH RELIGION

Previously, States in Europe adopted various means of dealing with religious traditions. The discussion of the role of religion in European integration is essential to inform the conceptual views to be applied in Portugal. This historical study will demonstrate that in the EU there are traditions of confessional states, others that are secular as well as those that have a *Concordat*.

There is a movement in Europe that supports secularism, but this does not mean religion is removed from the EU equation. Several countries of Europe have attempted to adopt secularism and even the *Treaty of Rome* (1957) did not mention God or Christianity. Many voices, however, have raised the issue of secularism within the context of including their religious expressions in the public arena. This has been debated in an article by Andrew Higgins published in the *New York Times* entitled *A More Secular Europe, Divided by the Cross*.¹⁶³⁸ As Archbishop Stanislav Zvolensky has noted "There is a movement in the European Union that wants total religious neutrality and cannot accept our Christian traditions".¹⁶³⁹

On the one hand, Christian religion appeared to be a unifying element for Europe, but, as Higgins points out, "Religion has instead become yet another source of discord. It divides mostly secular Western Europe from profoundly religious nations in the East like Poland

¹⁶³⁸ Higgins, Andrew, *A More Secular Europe, Divided by the Cross*, (Article: New York Times – Europe. The New York Times Company. <http://www.nytimes.com/>. Accessed on 5 June, 2014).

¹⁶³⁹ Ibid., p. 1.

and those in between both in geography and in faith like Slovakia”.¹⁶⁴⁰ On the other hand, the European Commission is being attacked by assertive secularists. According to Higgins, “The European Commission ... [is] under attack from all sides, denounced by atheists, even for its timid engagement with religion and by Christian fundamentalists as an agent of Satan”.¹⁶⁴¹ In this regard, as the director of the Observatory on Intolerance and Discriminations Against Christians from Vienna stated, “There is a general suspicion of anything religious, a view that faith should be kept out of the public sphere... There is a very strong current of radical secularism”.¹⁶⁴² The debate on the role of religion in the European Union continues as the ReligioWest engages in a four year research based at the European University Institute, in Florence, Italy, funded by the European Research Council. Lucian N. Leustean points out in *EUI – Working Papers: The Representation of Religion in the European Union* that the ReligioWest

Aims at studying how different Western states in Europe and North America are redefining their relationship to religions, under the challenge of an increasing religious activism in the public sphere, associated with new religious movements and with Islam.¹⁶⁴³

A set of core themes organized by the research agenda is continuing to evolve, engaging in the reflection on the changes implied by the European integration. This is because the membership with the European Union continues to expand.¹⁶⁴⁴ For several decades the European Union officials have been aware of the importance of religion for effective EU integration. Even if at first religious institutions did not show much interest on European integration, soon Christians became interested. For example, some ecumenical organizations have been involved in the dialogue with the European Union institutions, according to Leustean, first, the “Ecumenical Commission on European Cooperation ... [established by] a transnational group of Protestant and Anglican politicians and churchmen ... which provided expertise to churches on the process of European integration”.¹⁶⁴⁵ The group has changed its name to “Christian Study Group on European Unity”.¹⁶⁴⁶ This group is affiliated to the World Council of Churches “WCC”.¹⁶⁴⁷

¹⁶⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴² Ibid., p. 2.

¹⁶⁴³ Leustean, Lucian N., *EUI – Working Papers: The Representation of Religion in the European Union*, (Paper: European University Institute, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, RELIGIOWEST. RSCAS 2013/69. Badia Fiesolana, I – 50014 San Domenico di Fiesole (FI), Italy. <http://www.eui.eu/>. Accessed on 5 June, 2014), p. [iv].

¹⁶⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 1.

¹⁶⁴⁶ Ibid.

Second, “The Consultative Committee of Churches for the European Communities”,¹⁶⁴⁸ also a transnational network established in Brussels, and, third, the “Ecumenical Centre in Brussels”,¹⁶⁴⁹ another ecumenical body. Interestingly, Leustean reports that “Both ecumenical bodies share the same office and monitored the policy making of the European Communities”.¹⁶⁵⁰

The Roman Catholic Church also becomes involved in the discussion of European integration. According to Leustean, that engagement is expressed by various entities, first, the “Council of the Bishops’ Conferences of Europe”,¹⁶⁵¹ second, the “Catholic European Study Information Centre”,¹⁶⁵² third, the “CIDSE – International Co-operation for Development and Solidarity”,¹⁶⁵³ fourth, the “Catholic International Education Office”,¹⁶⁵⁴ and, fifth, the “European Committee for Catholic Education”.¹⁶⁵⁵ Relations between European institutions and religious communities have long been established, as Leustean indicates,

Delor’s interest in religious and ethical issues and the increasing mobilization of religions on European issues in the context of the *Single European Act* led to an increasing number of meetings with religious and ethical organizations. New religious bodies set up offices in Brussels and engaged in an informal type of dialogue.¹⁶⁵⁶

Delor envisioned a special dialogue between Christians, Jews, Muslims and Humanists and so established a program entitled “A Soul for Europe: Ethics and Spirituality”.¹⁶⁵⁷ However, the discussions on the “Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe”¹⁶⁵⁸ brought new religious actors into contact with the European institutions. In this regard Leustean points out,

The decision to exclude references to ‘God’ and ‘Christianity’ in the Preamble of the Constitution, and debates in the intergovernmental conference between 2003 and 2004 revealed that despite an increase in religious lobbying in Brussels, national governments continued to have a powerful voice in issues related to religion.¹⁶⁵⁹

¹⁶⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 2.

¹⁶⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 3.

¹⁶⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵² Ibid.

¹⁶⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 4.

¹⁶⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 5.

¹⁶⁵⁹ Ibid.

Jorge César das Neves is a Portuguese official of the European Union “In charge of the relations with religions and ‘convictional communities’”,¹⁶⁶⁰ (2007-2012). This demonstrates how important the European Union regards religion. Furthermore, as Leustean states,

The present institutionalization of religious dialogue has been in line with President José Manuel Barroso’s approach to religious issues, resulting in annual meetings between the Commission and high-profile leaders from a large number of religious and convictional bodies.¹⁶⁶¹

Fields in which religious representations are engaged within the EU are “Diplomatic representations; official representation of churches; inter/church organizations or networks; confessional or convictional organizations; religious orders; and single-issue organizations”.¹⁶⁶² Parenthetically, Leustean claims that,

Although Article 17 of the *Lisbon Treaty* institutionalizes a mechanism of religious dialogue ... the European Commission remains the only institution which has set up a direct mandate of dialogue with ‘churches, religions and communities of conviction’.¹⁶⁶³

At national level, however, the integration of the twenty eight EU countries depicts three types of approach regarding religion, the secular states, confessional states and, the states with a *Concordat*.

(a) Secular States in the European Union

It is important to explain what the claims of secularism are concerning religion. As Alexander Görlach explicates in an article entitled *As If God Did Not Exist*, “Secularism does not imply the prohibition of individual religiosity or of public displays of faith. It merely begs us to abandon any hopes for divine intervention in Europe’s messy state of affairs”.¹⁶⁶⁴ Görlach makes several observations on how states that claim to be secular view and apply the concept of secularism. Firstly, “Religious beliefs can be a force behind the motivation to engage in politics”.¹⁶⁶⁵ Consequently, there are political parties that label themselves as Christian, using in their acronym a “C”.¹⁶⁶⁶ As Görlach explains,

Parliamentarians might serve under a purely secular system. However, this is the same system that grants them the right to exercise their freedom of religion and the privilege to believe in

¹⁶⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 6.

¹⁶⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶² Ibid., p. 7.

¹⁶⁶³ Ibid., p. 11.

¹⁶⁶⁴ Görlach, Alexander, *As If God Did Not Exist*, (Article: The European Magazine. Online portal on views published on 07.04.2013. <http://www.theeuropean-magazine.com/>. Accessed on 5 June, 2014).

¹⁶⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶⁶ Ibid.

whatever God they choose. Clearly, no one would argue that their lives aren't influenced by their religious beliefs.¹⁶⁶⁷

Secondly, "Freedom of religion is not just an individual right but extends to religious communities as well".¹⁶⁶⁸ Görlach argues that "Secularism acknowledges that controversial societal questions are debated by a wide range of interest groups. Religious denominations are one example".¹⁶⁶⁹ Secularism understands that "A secular society that places obstacles before religious groups and thus impedes their ability to contribute to societal discourses, secular pluralism ceases to function".¹⁶⁷⁰ Thirdly, "Western secularism has learnt how to deal with religion against the backdrop of the Christian occident",¹⁶⁷¹ and Görlach explains "Secularism and Christianity have learnt how to live with each other".¹⁶⁷² Laws have been passed in most European countries that include religious freedom such as Portugal. As a result of these laws Muslim minorities are growing in most countries and new non-Roman Catholic Christian institutions have been established as well, altering the image of what it means to be a Christian. Additionally, there is an increase of citizens "Who don't identify with religion at all",¹⁶⁷³ as Görlach claims. Görlach also argues that "Instead of defining the relationship between the state and the Roman Catholic Church, we must spell out the rights and duties of religions within a secular system".¹⁶⁷⁴ Fourthly, Görlach argues that "Religious speech is linguistically different from other forms of speech"¹⁶⁷⁵ drawing upon Jacques Derrida the philosopher's,

Our existence sometimes requires, or longs for, an aspiration or confirmation that transcends our human condition. Religion has conserved this longing for enduring testimony in its very specific language, not only in worlds but also in symbols.¹⁶⁷⁶

Fifthly, Görlach argues that "Religious symbolism is a natural component of culture".¹⁶⁷⁷ As he indicates;

¹⁶⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷² Ibid.

¹⁶⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷⁷ Ibid.

Today, many different languages are spoken in the European Union, but Christian iconography harks back to a time when only the elites were capable of reading and writing. The cross ... expresses a part of our cultural identity.¹⁶⁷⁸

Finally, Görlach states that, “Christianity has become such a big part of our perceived reality and of European civilization that it is not regarded as a religion anymore. It has become a set of symbols, a set of values, a set of utopias, and so forth”.¹⁶⁷⁹ That is, Jesus’ story is part of all European citizens whether or not they are Christians. “It belongs to everybody”¹⁶⁸⁰ according to Görlach, what is being witnessed across the EU is “The supremacy of the law over religious convictions”.¹⁶⁸¹ Therefore, “The mission of the Church isn’t to sidestep the law; it is to influence its content”.¹⁶⁸² It is incumbent upon religious institutions to encourage participation and the inclusion of their thoughts on EU legislation. The importance of addressing the role of confessional states in the European Union integration process is addressed as follows.

(b) Confessional States in the European Union

A confessional state officially adopts a particular religion to be practiced by the citizens. Many states have been confessional for decades in their history having adopted either the Christian, Islamic, or Buddhist religion; the idea of religious pluralism is recent. As stated in *Confessional state*, “Many if not most nations had state religions enshrined in their respective constitutions or by decree of the monarch, even if other religions were permitted to practice”.¹⁶⁸³ Defenders of the confessional state such as Pope Benedict XVI have argued that “The [Roman] Catholic faithful and all persons of good will [must] live their freedom in accordance with truth and common good”,¹⁶⁸⁴ as Annemarie Adkins writes in *The Political Problem of Religious Pluralism*

The need to live ‘love in truth’ is especially important in ‘liberal’ societies – representative democracies, republics, and constitutional democracies – lest they degenerate into a ‘thinly disguised totalitarianism’ governed by a ‘dictatorship of relativism’.¹⁶⁸⁵

1678 Ibid.

1679 Ibid.

1680 Ibid.

1681 Ibid.

1682 Ibid.

1683 *Confessional state*, (Article in: Wikipedia – The Free Encyclopedia. A Wikimedia Project. Wikimedia Foundation. Inc. San Francisco, CA 94105. Sv Customs. <http://en.wikipedia.org/>. Accessed on 6 June, 2014).

1684 Adkins, Annemarie, *The Political Problem of Religious Pluralism*, (Article in: Zenit – the world seen from Rome. <http://www.zenit.org/>. Accessed on 6 June, 2014).

1685 Ibid.

Kile R. Cupp in *Pluralism and the Confessional State* cites Thaddeus Kozinsky – a professor of humanities and philosophy who states:

As a confessional pluralist ... I think society shouldn't be 'cognisant of and obedient to the will of God', but that any confessional state would at best be cognisant of and obedient to the interpretation of whoever ([Roman] Catholic or otherwise) wields the most power.¹⁶⁸⁶

It is difficult to identify the confessional states in Europe, for example, both England and Germany claim to be secular but they have very close ties with religion. However, several European countries that have Christian democratic parties are “Resilient in the face of the secularization which characterises Western society”,¹⁶⁸⁷ according to J. F. Groen in *The lasting presence of Christian Democracy*. Groen adds, “Christian parties cannot label themselves as the voice of Christians, ... confessed Christians do shape policies that would be banned by their own church”.¹⁶⁸⁸ Western countries and particularly the EU states are adopting a ‘Trias Societas’ involving a political triangle of state-market-society as Groen explains, “The configuration of a *Trias Societas*, of state, market, and society as relatively autonomous and independent spheres, hold the key to the resilience of Christian democracy in times of secularism”.¹⁶⁸⁹ The issue of the confessional state in Europe is a subject discussed by Joseph A. Komonchak in *Religious Freedom and the Confessional State: The Twentieth-Century Discussion*. Komonchak cites Pope John Paul II as having stated: “The truth cannot impose itself except by virtue of its own truth, as it wins over the mind with both gentleness and power”.¹⁶⁹⁰ However, to attain this position would require an extended period of time. The days are gone when

Pope Leo XIII's encyclical, *Immortale Dei* ... explained and defended the duty of the State to acknowledge and favour the one true religion, including by restriction or prohibition propaganda by false religions.¹⁶⁹¹

Other EU countries adopt a *Concordat* signed with the Vatican State which is addressed below.

1686 Cupp, Kyle R., *Pluralism and the Confessional State*, (Article in: Vox Nova – Catholic perspectives on culture, society, and politics. <http://vox-nova.com/>. Accessed on 6 June, 2014).

1687 Groen, Dr J. F., *The last presence of Christian Democracy*, (Article in: Socires, The Hague. <http://soc.kuleuven.be/>. Accessed on 6 June, 2011), p. 1.

1688 Ibid., pp. 1-2.

1689 Ibid., p. 1.

1690 Komonchak, Joseph A., *Religious Freedom and the Confessional State: The Twentieth-Century Discussion*, (Article in: The Catholic University of America. Dept. Of Religion and Religious Education. Washington DC 20064. USA. Louvain. [Belgium]. Extrait de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique. Vol. XCV (2000), n° 3. 2000. <http://jakomonchak.files.wordpress.com/>. Accessed on 6 June, 2014), p. 634.

1691 Ibid., p. 636.

(c) States with a *Concordat* in the European Union

Religious identity in Europe has been traditionally shaped by Roman Catholicism whose countries sign *Concordats* with the Vatican as is the case of Portugal that developed a religious framed ideology which fought the establishment of human rights. However, the democratic spirit effected by the 1974 Revolution went far from traditional rhetoric. Yet, the Roman Catholic structures and the Portuguese state adopted again the *Concordat* system in 2004. An article entitled *Portugal*, comments on the *Concordats* between Portugal and the Holy See; “The timely dedication of the nation to ... [Virgin Mary’s] Sacred Heart before the 1940 *Concordat* and a papal pilgrimage to her shrine in Portugal before the 2004 *Concordat* seemed calculated to help the negotiations”.¹⁶⁹² According to Concordat Watch in *Stopping Concordats* the problem posed by *Concordats* is that “Most politicians will remain more afraid of displeasing the Vatican than of protecting the rights of their own electorate”.¹⁶⁹³ Moreover, “In fact ... *Concordats* often codified a Roman Catholic religious monopoly and these state churches severely limited religious freedom”.¹⁶⁹⁴ Consequently, “What are needed are not *Concordats*, but religious freedom for all, in other words the full implementation of Article 18 of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*”.¹⁶⁹⁵

The principle of freedom of religion has historically developed amidst different relations between state and religions but EU treaties and relations with religious communities appear to modify those traditional relations.

5.1.2 HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM IN EUROPEAN TREATIES AND THE EU RELATIONS WITH RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES

European integration has only been possible as the EU legal framework is being worked out to include the main elements of each national culture including the principle of freedom of religion. This has taken the form of “Treaties”, which will be dealt with in this section. In the *Single European Act* (1987), the *Declaration of the European Parliament on Freedoms and Fundamental Rights* (1989) religious freedom has been

¹⁶⁹² [?], *Portugal*, (Article: Concordat Watch. Available at: <http://frenchwindows.hautetfort.com/>. Accessed on 6 June, 2014).

¹⁶⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹⁵ Ibid.

included as a fundamental human right. These historical agreements of the EU have impacted the Portuguese state in the field of religion; the *Treaty of Maastricht*, the *Treaty of Amsterdam*, and the *Treaty of Nice*. Religious freedom as the right to visibility and to institutional representation of the religious organizations within the legal framework of the European Union is important, as it exerts profound pressure on Portugal.

5.1.2.1 The Treaties of Rome and Paris, the *Single European Act*, and the *Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms*

The *Treaty of Rome* and the *Treaty of Paris* were the fundamental legal basis for the European Union. However, at that time there was yet no intention to transform the whole of Europe into what it is today, including the actual EU integration.¹⁶⁹⁶ One of the important developments in EU legislation related to European integration was *The Single European Act*. According to the *Europa – Summaries of EU* legislation online portal,

The [Single European Act] SEA, signed in Luxembourg on 17 February 1986 by the nine Member States and on 28 February 1986 by Denmark, Italy and Greece, is the first major amendment of the Treaty establishing the European Economic Community (EEC). It entered into force on 1 July 1987.¹⁶⁹⁷

The article explains that

The Single European Act (SEA) revises the Treaties of Rome in order to add new momentum to European integration and to complete the internal market. It amends the rules governing the operation of the European institutions and expands Community powers.¹⁶⁹⁸

Neither the *Single European Act* nor the *Treaties of Rome* dealt with the issue of religious freedom or human rights, “The founding Treaties contained no specific provisions on fundamental rights”.¹⁶⁹⁹ Additionally, “The credit for gradually developing a system of guarantees for fundamental rights throughout the European Union has to go to the Court of Justice”.¹⁷⁰⁰ For a long time the EEC left human rights to be dealt with by the Council of Europe¹⁷⁰¹ in spite of having adopted the *Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms* in Rome on 4 November, 1950 as amended by

1696 *The Treaty of Rome*, (Text adopted on 25 March, 1957. <http://www.gleichstellung.uni-freiburg.de/>. Accessed on 7 June, 2014).

1697 [?], *The Single European Act – Birth*, (Article in: *Europa – Summaries of EU legislation*. Online portal of the European Union. <http://europa.eu/>. Accessed on 6 June, 2014).

1698 Ibid.

1699 *Fundamental rights and non-discrimination*, (Article in: *Europa – Summaries of EU legislation*. Online portal of the European Union. <http://europa.eu/>. Accessed on 7 June, 2014).

1700 Ibid.

1701 *Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms as amended by Protocols No. 11 and No. 14*, (Initial text signed in Rome on November 4th, 1950. <http://conventions.coe.int/>. Accessed on 7 June, 2014).

Protocols No. 11 and No. 14. The *Convention* and the *Protocols* defended human rights, including religious freedom (Article 9 – Freedom of thought, conscience and religion).¹⁷⁰² However, the EEC did not use these legal instruments of the *Convention* or the *Protocols*, which happened when the EEC was transformed into the EU. The integration of the EU member states societies required human rights and religious freedom to be dealt with in various EU treaties.

5.1.2.2 Fundamental sources of EU legislation related to religious freedom

From its inception in 1992 the EU increasingly supported religious freedom as a fundamental right which meant a growing shift of the European concept on religious freedom that was defended by EU legislation. From 1997 to 2009 the EU definitively adopted human rights and religious freedom as fundamental elements of integration particularly by legislation resulting from the *Treaty of Amsterdam* and the *Treaty of Nice*.

- The *Treaty of Amsterdam*

Signed on 2 October, 1997, the *Treaty of Amsterdam* clearly addressed human rights within the EU, “By bringing fundamental rights to the fore, those who drafted the *Treaty of Amsterdam* were endeavouring to give formal recognition to human rights”.¹⁷⁰³ In addition,

The Treaty of Amsterdam clarifies Article 6 (ex Article F) of the Treaty on European Union by stating unequivocally that the Union is founded on the principles of liberty, democracy, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the rule of law.¹⁷⁰⁴

Developments in EU legislation concerning religious freedom continued with the *Treaty of Nice*.

- The *Treaty of Nice*

According to the online portal of the EU the *Treaty of Nice* was signed on 26 February, 2001 and intended “To reform the institutions so that the EU could function effectively after reaching 25 member countries”.¹⁷⁰⁵ The *Treaty of Nice* laid the foundation for the

¹⁷⁰² Ibid.

¹⁷⁰³ *Fundamental rights and non-discrimination*, Op. cit.

¹⁷⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰⁵ *EU Treaties*, (Article in: European Union. Online portal of the European Union. <http://europa.eu/>. Accessed on 7 June, 2014).

future Constitution of Europe,¹⁷⁰⁶ which agenda included “The proclamation of the Charter of fundamental rights of the European Union”¹⁷⁰⁷ as informed by an article entitled *The history of the European Union – The European citizenship*. The *Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union* was adopted in the last month of the previous year (18/12/2000).¹⁷⁰⁸ This *Charter* enhanced the political dimension of the EU grounded on a new European model of society that included “The protection of fundamental rights recognised by all Member States”.¹⁷⁰⁹ Human rights were given recognition and became a significant aspect of EU legislation which is ensured by the European Court on Human Rights under the Council of Europe.

5.1.3 THE EUROPEAN COURT ON HUMAN RIGHTS

One of the most important instruments that protect human rights is the European Court on Human Rights which, according to a brochure entitled *The Court in Brief*,

Is an international court set up in 1959. It rules on individuals or States applications alleging violations of the civil and political rights set out in the European Convention on Human Rights. Since 1998 it has sat as a full-time court and individuals can apply to it directly.¹⁷¹⁰

The European Court on Human Rights (ECHR) has jurisdiction in Portugal as a member state of the Council of Europe as a requisite of the EU. Among other human rights “The Convention secures in particular: ... freedom of thought, conscience and religion”.¹⁷¹¹ The European Court on Human Rights covers most of the European countries, far beyond the member states of the EU. That is, it “Monitors respect for the human rights of 800 million Europeans in the 47 Council of Europe member States that have ratified the Convention”.¹⁷¹² Victims of religious discrimination in Portugal are protected by EU directives and legislation and they may seek justice at the ECHR court.

1706 *Treaty of Nice*, (Document in: Europa – Synthèses de la législation. Online portal of the European Union. <http://europa.eu/>. Accessed on 7 June, 2014).

1707 *The history of the European Union – The European citizenship*, (Article in: The online portal of Historiasiglo20.org. <http://www.historiasiglo20.org/>. Accessed on 7 June, 2014).

1708 Union, European, *Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union*, (Document in: Official Journal of the European Communities. <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/>. Accessed on 7 June, 2014).

1709 *Fundamental rights and non-discrimination*, Op. cit.

1710 Spielmann, Dean, Ed., *The Court in Brief*, (Brochure in: European Court of Human Rights, Public Relations, Strasbourg, France, [?]), p. [2].

1711 Union, European, *The Court in Brief*, (European Court of Human Rights, Council of Europe. Public Relations. Strasbourg. France. <http://www.echr.coe.int/>. Accessed on 7 June, 2014).

1712 Ibid.

5.1.4 THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE EUROPEAN UNION'S DIRECTIVES AND LEGISLATION ON COMBATING RELIGIOUS DISCRIMINATION IN PORTUGAL

Amnesty International has addressed the need for improved effectiveness of the Commission of the EU on the implementation of the *Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union*. In a report Amnesty International advocated a stronger “Role for the European Commission in ensuring effective implementation of the EU legislation”.¹⁷¹³ According to the report, “The European Commission should play a robust role in enforcing its equality law and in ensuring that its implementation at national level is consistent with international human rights law”.¹⁷¹⁴ Additionally, the report highlights that

Amnesty International remains concerned that the European Commission has not, in some instances, effectively ensured the respect of the principle of non-discrimination by its member states when implementing EU law.¹⁷¹⁵

An online portal Religion & Spirituality published a report entitled *Portugal: Religious Freedom Report (2003)* which commented on the *2001 Religious Freedom Act*, “The Act provides qualifying religions with benefits previously reserved for the Roman Catholic Church: Full tax-exempt status, legal recognition of marriage and other rites, Chaplain visits to prisons and hospitals, and respect for traditional holidays”.¹⁷¹⁶ The history of Portuguese demographics regarding the re-evangelization of Europe is an important aspect that requires attention.

5.2 A BRIEF HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF PORTUGUESE DEMOGRAPHICS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE RE-EVANGELIZATION OF EUROPE

A brief historical analysis of Portuguese religious realities is necessary as it is important to comprehend the fundamental cultural Christian essence of the European civilization

¹⁷¹³ International, Amnesty, *Submission to the European Commission on the Implementation of the Equality Directives*,

(International Amnesty report. January 2013. Index: IOR 61/002/2013. <http://www.amnesty.org/>. Accessed on 7 June, 2014), p. 1.

¹⁷¹⁴ Ibid., p. 2.

¹⁷¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷¹⁶ *Portugal – Religious Freedom Report (2003)*, (Report: About – Religion & Spirituality – Agnosticism / Atheism.

<http://atheism.about.com/>. Accessed on 7 June, 2014).

which many influential Christian leaders¹⁷¹⁷ such as Pope John Paul II as well as Baptist theologian Karl-Heinz Walter and Anglican theologian James Packer believe requires a re-evangelization of the continent. The religious identity of the Portuguese is shifting to other bases rather than the traditional Roman Catholic as the 2009 Census demonstrates. This is intrinsically connected to EU developments related to religion as well as the Christian necessity to re-evangelize Europe.

5.2.1 THE RE-EVANGELIZATION AND CULTURAL RESHAPING OF EUROPE

Europe underwent cultural and religious turmoil as integration took place and politicians sought the true soul of Europe trying to break down nationalisms. It is in this context that Christians from all spheres came to shape the future of the European Union and the integration of its citizens in a re-evangelization spirit.

5.2.1.1 Europe's re-evangelization

Efforts to re-evangelize Europe came from all Christian denominations, which directly affected the Portuguese culture within the new European cultural melting environment. Evangelicals began to link themselves across Europe in the nineteenth century with the formation of the European Evangelical Alliance (EEA) “In 1846”.¹⁷¹⁸ The EEA grew stronger and faster after the Second World War which, according to Dr Ian Randall in *Evangelicals and European Integration*,

Politicians in Europe are in many cases willing to listen to the EEA [European Evangelical Alliance] because they know that the EEA represents a large pan-European, pan-Denominational alliance of Christian voices.¹⁷¹⁹

For example, “In November 1990 ... Jacques Dellors, the President of the European Commission at the time, made his famous call to church leaders to help Europe find its soul”.¹⁷²⁰ The “Issue of the ‘sects’”¹⁷²¹ triggered by “The tragic deaths of sixteen members of the Order of Solar Temple in the Alps”¹⁷²² in 1995, caused panic among European politicians and journalists in whose opinion religious minorities appeared to be

¹⁷¹⁷ Randall, Dr Ian, *Evangelicals and European Integration*, (Article in: *Euro|Th* (2005) 14:1, 17-26 – 0960-2720.

<http://www.biblicalstudies.org.uk/>. Accessed on 2 July, 2014), p. 17.

¹⁷¹⁸ Ibid., p. 17.

¹⁷¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 22-23.

¹⁷²⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷²¹ Ibid., p. 23.

¹⁷²² Ibid.

a threat. Consequently, Randall explains, “The desire to protect society was at times stronger than the desire to maintain the principle of religious freedom”.¹⁷²³ However, the EEA helped Europe to find a solution to the problem by working closely with European parliamentarians and the text of the European resolution passed in 1996 was reversed. According to Randall, “The final resolution was amended to make specific reference to [both] the importance of religious freedom and the *European Convention of the Human Rights*”.¹⁷²⁴

While the EEA was involved with the European parliamentarians Pope John Paul II reached out to Christians of all denominations for common efforts in re-evangelizing Europe. According to Randall, “In 1991 the Pope invited fifteen leaders of other Churches to meet with the European Bishops at the Vatican to consider the theme ‘The Re-evangelization of Europe’”.¹⁷²⁵ The final declaration was an 8000 word document entitled “Evangelicals and Catholics Together: The Christian Mission in the Third Millennium”.¹⁷²⁶ European Baptists represented by Karl-Heinz Walter and theologians such as the Anglican James Packer “Explored the common ground between Evangelicals and [Roman] Catholics”.¹⁷²⁷ Within the spirit of the necessity to re-evangelise Europe Christianity was increasingly reshaping Europe’s culture which should be addressed because of its relevance to this study.

5.2.1.2 The role of Christianity in reshaping Europe’s culture

The cultural problem that Europe faced was dealt with in the *Convention of the Future of Europe* and one of its most important debates within the reshaping of the European culture involved the role of Christianity. In this regard Randall states, “The mention of God and Christian or Judeo-Christian values in Article 2 of the draft Constitutional treaty”¹⁷²⁸ required revision. “Many Churches, religious communities and others considered this article to be too general. They argued that it should mention the Christian culture that has shaped Europe and which has been based on faith in God”.¹⁷²⁹ The

¹⁷²³ Ibid.

¹⁷²⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷²⁵ Ibid., p. 21.

¹⁷²⁶ Ibid., p. 22.

¹⁷²⁷ Ibid., pp. 21-22.

¹⁷²⁸ Ibid., p. 23.

¹⁷²⁹ Ibid.

principle of freedom of religion in Europe's new culture is regarded by Evangelicals such as the EEA as an important aspect of Europe's reshaped identity.

The European Evangelical Alliance added its voice to those believers on this matter. Evangelicals want the European Union to be, above everything else, a community in which, in the name of justice and fairness, everyone is free to believe and practice their faith.¹⁷³⁰

This does not mean the EEA has a political agenda to be ushered in, but a request for its voice and thought to be included along with any other member of civil society in the building of a new Europe. Randall states, "Evangelicals do not demand a privileged place for believers but want their voices to be heard in the public arena along with every other member of civil society".¹⁷³¹ The EEA published the following statement "In March 2003",¹⁷³²

Motivated by a desire to preserve and protect this diversity, we reject the idea of a purely secular society where religious beliefs would be relegated to a strictly private sphere. Instead we favour the idea of a pluralist society where different faiths and philosophical streams can exist and express their opinions, thus encouraging real democracy.¹⁷³³

Christian leaders of various denominations agreed on the necessity for Europe to call back Christian values such as Pope John Paul II who expressed his concerns to the Italian Parliament on 15 November 2002, "Europe, at the beginning of the new millennium, open once again your doors to Christ".¹⁷³⁴ Another voice calling for Europe's return to Christ was that of Metropolitan Kirill of Smolensk and Kaliningrad addressing the inaugural meeting of the European Council of Religious Leaders in Oslo, also spoke on "The necessity to respect religious ideals".¹⁷³⁵ Other Christian leaders like the Bulgarian Baptist pastor Nik Nedelchev, the president of the EEA, and Paul Negrut from Romania, believed that "Either [the] ... spiritual advance in Eastern Europe would affect the rest of Europe, or ... Western secularism would penetrate Eastern countries".¹⁷³⁶ The implication is an extraordinary opportunity for Christians to work together as a united expression of their faith and thought. Evangelicals in particular are aware of this opportunity according to Randall;

Since the early 1990s there has been an increasing awareness on the part of Baptists and other Evangelicals that there is a remarkable opportunity to express again a united witness across

1730 Ibid.

1731 Ibid.

1732 Ibid., p. 24.

1733 Ibid.

1734 Ibid.

1735 Ibid.

1736 Ibid., p. 21.

Europe. This has largely been embodied in co-operative mission, in aid, in prayer and in education.¹⁷³⁷

As a consequence, “The campaign resulted in a watering down of the humanist nature of the documentation”.¹⁷³⁸ “Signed on 29 October 2004”¹⁷³⁹ the *Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe* includes “People of religious faith not just humanists ... acknowledged as having contributed to European values”.¹⁷⁴⁰ While praying for a Christian revival in Europe Evangelicals are also interested in the politics of the old continent, in Randall’s opinion,

Evangelicals are not only seeking spiritual renewal; they are also looking outwards at the political situation in the new Europe. The EBF [European Baptist Federation] has set up a network of lawyers across Europe to specialize in human rights.¹⁷⁴¹

Evangelical influence on the future of Europe has been effective since Julia Doxat Purser became the representative of the EEA office in Brussels,¹⁷⁴²

Before ... [1994], it seemed that every other worldview except Evangelical Christianity was seeking to influence the European political agenda. The ... EEA encourages those with influence in Brussels to act in ways that promotes justice, peace, generosity and righteousness.¹⁷⁴³

The united Evangelical front is fostered by the co-operation of theological seminaries across the continent. Randall avers “Seminaries across Europe are working in partnership. There has been co-operation in Evangelical theological education across denominations”,¹⁷⁴⁴ while on the other hand Evangelical leaders are closely working with politicians for the construction of Europe.

5.2.1.3 European directives on religious and racial discrimination

Europe’s answer to the problem of discrimination in general was the implementation of EU instruments such as the “High Commission for [Immigration] and Intercultural Dialogue”,¹⁷⁴⁵ known in Portuguese as the “ACIDI – Alto Comissariado para a Imigração

1737 Ibid., p. 22.

1738 Ibid., p. 23.

1739 Ibid.

1740 Ibid.

1741 Ibid., p. 22.

1742 Ibid.

1743 Ibid.

1744 Ibid.

1745 Dias, Bruno, Tiago Farinha, and Elisa Silva, *Portugal: RAXEN National Focal Point Thematic Study - Housing Conditions of Roma and Travellers*, Op. cit., p. 4.

e Diálogo Intercultural, I.P.”.¹⁷⁴⁶ The presence in Portugal of the ACIDI and the creation by Portuguese legislation of the Commission for Equality Against Racial Discrimination (Comissão para a Igualdade e Contra a Discriminação Racial – CICDR) provides solutions to the discrimination problem. The ACIDI is focused on “Faith, Religion and Ethnic minorities”¹⁷⁴⁷ and its permanent base is in Lisbon.¹⁷⁴⁸ Within the ACIDI the CICDR was created by Act No. 139/99 of 28 August 1999 (*Lei n.º 139/99, de 28 de Agosto*).¹⁷⁴⁹ The online portal of the ACIDI explains,

Dependent on the Prime Minister or ... the Government ... the mission of ACIDI shall be ... the creation ... of ... public policies concerned with the integration of immigrants and the ethnic minorities, as well as to promote the dialogue between the various cultures, ethnic groups and religions.¹⁷⁵⁰

The problem, however, is the absence of appropriate tools to produce accurate information on discrimination committed in the country since there is no “Collection of information”¹⁷⁵¹ on cases of discrimination as Bruno Dias and Elisa Silva state in *Portugal: RAXEN National Focal Point Thematic Study - Housing Conditions of Roma and Travellers*. Dias and Silva argue that this is a “Hindrance to a reliable knowledge of the ... population living in Portugal... It also makes difficult the assessment of existing policies in terms of its suitability to solve situations of social and economic exclusion suffered by many ... in Portugal”.¹⁷⁵² Consequently, since 1999 Portugal was prepared with institutions such as the ACIDI and the CICDR to deal with issues of discrimination yet there was no data for them to work with which makes them ineffective. The collection of data as well as the analysis of Portuguese demographics related to religious issues is fundamental for the new European culture within the scope of the re-evangelisation of Europe. Despite the establishment of the ACIDI and the CICDR in 1999 which were improvements that were evident in Portugal since the 1974 Revolution, the impact was more cosmetic than effective. It is necessary to present a discussion on

¹⁷⁴⁶ [?], *High Commission for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue (ACIDI – Alto Comissariado para a Imigração e o Diálogo Intercultural, I. P.)*, (Article in: Eurogender Network. <http://eurogender.eige.europa.eu/>. Accessed on 7 April, 2014).

¹⁷⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴⁸ ACIDI – Alto Comissariado para a Imigração e Diálogo Intercultural, I.P. Rua Álvaro Coutinho, n.º 14, Lisboa, Portugal. <http://eurogender.eige.europa.eu/>. Accessed on 7 April, 2014).

¹⁷⁴⁹ CICDR – Comissão para a Igualdade e Contra a Discriminação Racial. Rua Álvaro Coutinho, n.º 14, Lisboa, Portugal. <http://www.acidi.gov.pt/>. Accessed on 7 April, 2014.

¹⁷⁵⁰ [?], *High Commission for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue (ACIDI – Alto Comissariado para a Imigração e o Diálogo Intercultural, I. P.)*, Op. cit.

¹⁷⁵¹ Dias, Bruno, Tiago Farinha, and Elisa Silva, *Portugal: RAXEN National Focal Point Thematic Study - Housing Conditions of Roma and Travellers*, Op. cit.

¹⁷⁵² Ibid.

the historical analysis of Portuguese demographics pertaining to the re-evangelisation of Europe.

5.3 THE IMPACT OF THE *CONSTITUTIONAL REVISIONS OF 1997 AND 2001* TO RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

This section deals specifically with the alteration of Portuguese legislation concerning religious freedom as the culmination of the impact of the 1974 Revolution. In addition, this section will demonstrate that the principle of freedom of religion was no longer just a part of other liberties granted to citizens as a consequence of the 1974 *coup d'état* but it became a specific to be dealt with. Three decades after the initial stage of the 1974 Revolution the principle of religious freedom was definitively dealt with and new legislation was adopted to that effect. During the historical process of the Portuguese liberalizing modernization period (1997-2009) the *1997 and 2001 Constitutional Revisions* were necessary to adjust legislation in relation to religion.

5.3.1 RELIGIOUS FREEDOM IN THE *1997 AND 2001 CONSTITUTIONAL REVISIONS*

The *1997 and 2001 Constitutional Revisions* were part of the process of equipping the Portuguese legal system with improved mechanisms to defend human rights including religious freedom as a result of the 1974 Revolution. The study of these *Constitutional Revisions* is therefore important to understand the impact of the 1974 Revolution on significant legislation which protects human rights and freedom of religion.

5.3.1.1 The *1997 Constitutional Revision*

The *1997 Constitutional Revision* is the legal transformation of the country to adapt to EU and other international norms related, for example, to the protection of private life and personal identification of individuals in a non-discriminatory fashion. In *A Originalidade e as Principais Características da Constituição Portuguesa* Jorge Miranda, a constitutionalist, highlighted the fact that the *1997 Constitutional Revision*¹⁷⁵³

¹⁷⁵³ Original Text in Portuguese: “explicada em nome da necessidade de revitalização do sistema político”.

was “Explained in terms of the need to revitalize the political system”,¹⁷⁵⁴ among other areas. Miranda states that one of the most important legal aspects altered in the 1997 *Constitutional Revision* was,¹⁷⁵⁵ “The development of the fundamental rights and corresponding duties of the State”,¹⁷⁵⁶ which focuses on the responsibilities of the State to implement human rights. It is the case of the new *Constitutional* text of Article 18 Paragraph 3 which demonstrates that the State is formally and legally obliged to respect the citizen’s right to religious option. As a result, in public surveys,¹⁷⁵⁷

The information may not be used for data for ... religious beliefs, private life and ethnic origin, except by express consent of the citizen, authorization provided by law with guarantees of non-discrimination or processing statistical data that does not identify individuals.¹⁷⁵⁸

This obligation of the State to respect the citizen’s human rights is another aspect of the impact of the 1974 Revolution.

5.3.1.2 The 2001 Constitutional Revision and the International Criminal Court (ICC)

The main reason behind the 2001 *Constitutional Revision* is that it was necessary to permit the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court (ICC) in Portuguese affairs particularly defending and reinforcing precisely the State’s respect for human rights including religious freedom. Miranda states,¹⁷⁵⁹ “In 2001 a process of constitutional revision was initiated because of a treaty: the constituent treaty of the International Criminal Court that was signed in Rome on 17th July 1998”,¹⁷⁶⁰ which was important to

1754 Miranda, Jorge, *A Originalidade e as Principais Características da Constituição Portuguesa*, (Article: Biblioteca Jurídica Virtual. Contenido – Cuestiones Constitucionales. Revista Mexicana de Derecho Constitucional. <http://www.juridicas.unam.mx/>. Accessed on 7 June, 2014).

1755 Original text in Portuguese: “Desenvolvimento da matéria dos direitos fundamentais e das correspondentes incumbências do Estado”.

1756 Miranda, Jorge, *A Originalidade e as Principais Características da Constituição Portuguesa*, Op. cit.

1757 Original text in Portuguese: “A informação não pode ser utilizada para tratamento de dados referentes a ... fé religiosa, vida privada e origem étnica, salvo mediante consentimento expresso do titular, autorização prevista por lei com garantias de não discriminação ou para processamento de dados estatísticos não individualmente identificáveis”.

1758 República, Assembleia, *Lei Constitucional n.º 1/97*, (Legislation: Diário da República – I Série-A. N.º 218 – 20-9-1997. Online portal of the Diário da República Electrónico. <http://dre.pt/>), p. 5132.

1759 Original text in Portuguese: “... em 2001 foi desencadeado um processo de revisão constitucional por causa de um tratado: o tratado constitutivo do Tribunal Penal Internacional assinado em Roma em 1998”.

1760 Miranda, Jorge, *A Originalidade e as Principais Características da Constituição Portuguesa*, Op. cit.

enforce the State's respect for human rights. Thus, concerning the jurisdiction of the ICC in Portugal Miranda states,¹⁷⁶¹

International justice that promotes respect for the rights of individuals and peoples requires Portugal to accept the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court, according to the complementary conditions and other terms set out in the Statute of Rome.¹⁷⁶²

According to its online portal the ICC is

Governed by the Rome Statute ... the first permanent treaty based international criminal court established to help end impunity for the perpetrators of the most serious crimes of concern to the international community ... Its seat is at The Hague in the Netherlands.¹⁷⁶³

The jurisdiction in Portugal of the ICC enforces the protection of individual and collective human rights including religious freedom based on Article 7, paragraph (h) of the *Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court*, which states, "Crime against humanity means ... persecution against any identifiable group or collective ... religious ... as defined in paragraph 3, or other grounds that are universally recognised as impermissible under international law".¹⁷⁶⁴ According to the ICC's online portal, "Portugal signed the Rome Statute on 7 October, 1998 ... [and] deposited its instrument of ratification of the Rome Statute on 5 February, 2002".¹⁷⁶⁵ The fact that Portugal signed the *Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court* in 1998, an international agreement which was embedded in the *2001 Constitutional Revision*, demonstrates the impact of the 1974 Revolution on the transformation of Portuguese legislation and its legal system concerning religious freedom. As a direct achievement resulting from the 1974 Revolution the Portuguese State is now obliged to protect freedom of religion of individuals and their institutions while the International Criminal Court ensures that it is enforced. The Portuguese *2004-2005 Constitutional Revision* has no relevance for this thesis which investigates religious freedom within the human rights framework. However, other essential legislation was adopted to endorse the definitive respect of the principle of freedom of religion as the culmination of the impact of the 1974 Revolution on religious freedom in Portugal.

1761 Original text in Portuguese: "Portugal pode, tendo em vista a realização de uma justiça internacional que promova o respeito pelos direitos da pessoa humana e dos povos, aceitar a jurisdição do Tribunal Penal Internacional, nas condições de complementaridade e demais termos estabelecidos no Estatuto de Roma".

1762 Miranda, Jorge, *A Originalidade e as Principais Características da Constituição Portuguesa*, Op. cit.

1763 [?], *About the Court*, (International Criminal Court – ICC online portal, <http://www.icc-cpi.int/>. Accessed on 14 July, 2015).

1764 *Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, The Hague*, (Legislation: International Criminal Court, The Netherlands, www.icc-cpi.int, 2011), p. 4.

1765 [?], *Portugal Signature Status*, (International Criminal Court – ICC online portal, <http://www.icc-cpi.int/>. Accessed on 14 July, 2015).

5.3.2 OTHER FUNDAMENTAL ALTERATIONS IN PORTUGUESE LEGISLATION RELATED TO RELIGION

The intensity of the impact of the 1974 Revolution on religious freedom culminated with the adoption of other fundamental legislation in Portugal. A Constitutional secular country like Portugal does not have competence to define the religious domain, according to Eduardo Lourenço,¹⁷⁶⁶ “A secular State has no doctrine or competence to define the sphere of the religious”.¹⁷⁶⁷ However, the Constitutional secular country should legislate the secular aspects which the practice of religion entails at personal and collective levels, which Portugal did with the adoption of two fundamental legislative documents related to religious freedom, the *2001 Religious Freedom Act* and the *2004 Concordat*.

5.3.2.1 The *Religious Freedom Act* (2001)

The discussion on the *2001 Religious Freedom Act* requires historical information to elaborate on its frame of reference in order to comprehend the significance of its guidelines for the principle of freedom of religion to be addressed below.

- Historical considerations leading to the adoption of the *2001 Religious Freedom Act*

Due to a moral problem related to non-Roman Catholics, the democratic Portuguese State was obliged to provide specific legislation which culminated in the *2001 Religious Freedom Act*. After the signature of the *Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court* which motivated the *2001 Constitutional Revision* it was missing a specific *Act* dealing with religious freedom in the Portuguese legal system. Consequently, on 22 June, 2001 the Religious Freedom Act (*Lei n° 16/2001, de 22 de Junho*) was promulgated, which was the first *Act* entirely dedicated to religious freedom as a consequence of the 1974 Revolution. Among many challenges to the Portuguese State one was certainly related to the secular claims of the State within a society which had an immense Roman Catholic presence. However, the demands of secularism were faced by both the State as well as

¹⁷⁶⁶ Original text in Portuguese: “um Estado laico não tem doutrina nem competência para definir a esfera do religioso”.

¹⁷⁶⁷ [?], *No Décimo Aniversário da Lei da Liberdade Religiosa: A Aprovação da Lei em S. Bento*, Op. cit.

the Roman Catholic Church as Paulo Ferreira da Cunha highlights in *Estado e Igreja em Portugal – alguns momentos e perspectivas*,¹⁷⁶⁸

In current times, the great challenge both for the State and the Church is secularism ... as has been repeated by some of the founding fathers of the regime established by the Revolution of 25th April 1974 and the 1976 Constitution ... then initiated ... the lessons of anticlericalism were well learned, and it was hand in hand without resentment that the [Roman] Catholics and non-[Roman] Catholics would defend the freedom against new totalitarian attempts, in the called “hot Summer” of 1976. Some difficulties remain ... but common sense has generally prevailed for the Common Good.¹⁷⁶⁹

However, the 1974 Revolution ideals implied that the Portuguese authorities had to provide a *Religious Freedom Act* for all citizens, which begs the question; would the relations between the State and the Roman Catholic Church be regulated by such a law?

- The 2001 *Religious Freedom Act*

In general terms the new *Religious Freedom Act* was welcomed as positive legislation. However, there are two positions concerning the 2001 *Religious Freedom Act*: those in favour and those not totally satisfied with it. This situation continues to date. Contradicting comments on the 2001 *Religious Freedom Act* were presented by three groups, the jurist’s views on the 2001 *Religious Freedom Act* from the legal point of view jurists interviewed such as Dr José Eduardo Vera Jardim, Professor José Inácio Clímaco de Sousa Brito, Professor Jónatas Eduardo Mendes Machado, and Dr Fernando Soares Loja who considered the *Act* to be excellent. However, Dr Maximino José da Silva Monteiro did not fully endorse the 2001 *Religious Freedom Act*. Dr Vera Jardim¹⁷⁷⁰ stated that,¹⁷⁷¹ “Therefore there was the need to extend the rights that were given only to the Roman Catholic Church, to most religious confessions. I think this represented naturally a very important advance for Portugal”.¹⁷⁷² Professor Sousa Brito¹⁷⁷³ stated,¹⁷⁷⁴

1768 Original text in Portuguese: “Nos tempos atuais, o grande desafio quer para o Estado quer para a Igreja é a laicidade ... como tem sido repetido por alguns dos pais-fundadores do regime instituído pela Revolução do 25 de Abril de 1974 e pela Constituição de 1976 ... então iniciada ... aprendeu bem as lições do anticlericalismo, e foi de mãos dadas e sem ressentimentos que católicos e não católicos defenderiam a liberdade contra novas tentativas totalitárias, no chamado ‘verão quente’ de 1976. Algumas dificuldade subsistem ... mas o bom senso tem, em geral, imperado, para o Bem Comum”.

1769 Da Cunha, Paulo Ferreira, *Estado e Igreja em Portugal – alguns momentos e perspectivas*, (Article: International Studies on Law and Education 15. CEMORC-Feusp / IJI-Univ. do Porto. Set-dez 2013. <http://www.hottopos.com/>. Accessed on 14 June, 2014), p. 26.

1770 Former Minister of Justice and in 2011 the Vice-President of the National Parliament.

1771 Original text in Portuguese: “Houve, portanto, uma extensão dos direitos que eram apenas da Igreja Católica à generalidade das confissões religiosas. Acho que isso representou naturalmente um avanço muito importante para Portugal”.

1772 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 13 – with Dr José Eduardo Vera Jardim*, Op. cit., p. 7.

“It is a giant step for the Portuguese society... I think the *Religious Freedom Act* will tend to have an enormous influence. As indeed had the glorious '76 *Constitution*, the *Constitution* after 25th April”.¹⁷⁷⁵

Professor Machado¹⁷⁷⁶ states,¹⁷⁷⁷ “We have a good *Constitution*, we have a good *Religious Freedom Act*, and obviously we also have the *European Convention of Human Rights* and the jurisprudence of the European Court of Human Rights”.¹⁷⁷⁸ However, in *Interview 6* (See Interviews Conducted) Dr Fernando Soares Loja¹⁷⁷⁹ said that the 2001 *Religious Freedom Act* still limits religious freedom; particularly related to the distribution of land for religious purposes to religious confessions other than the Roman Catholic Church,¹⁷⁸⁰ “The *Religious Freedom Act* did not go far enough. That's why I say there is religious freedom with some limitations. There is this serious limitation in the urbanistic aspect”.¹⁷⁸¹ In *Sorriem mas nunca baixam a guarda* Dr Fernando Loja said,¹⁷⁸²

Religious freedom means equal rights and not only the ‘freedom to pray’... Soares Loja exemplifies with the *Religious Freedom Act*. ‘It was published on 22nd June 2001, with 60 days to be regulated. But, it took two and a half years to make it happen. This says something... Moreover, the system of rights, freedoms and guarantees of the '76 *Constitution* is of immediate application and binds public and private entities. However, freedom of conscience, religion and worship that is inscribed was made unheeded by authorities.’¹⁷⁸³

1773 Judge of the Constitutional Court, founding President of the Comissão de Reforma da Lei da Liberdade Religiosa since its establishment by the Minister of Justice Dr José Eduardo Vera Jardim nominated him in 1995 (Commission for the Reformation of the Religious Freedom Act (1971), and, material author of first draft of the Religious Freedom Act (2001).

1774 Original text in Portuguese: “É um passo gigantesco para a sociedade portuguesa ... Penso que a *Lei da Liberdade Religiosa* tenderá a ter enorme influência. Como teve aliás a gloriosa *Constituição de 76*, a *Constituição* depois do 25 de abril”.

1775 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 14 – with Councillor Judge Professor José Sousa Brito*, Op. cit., p. 11.

1776 Note: Associate Professor of Law at the University of Coimbra.

1777 Original text in Portuguese: “Temos uma boa *Constituição*, temos uma boa *Lei de Liberdade Religiosa*, e temos também obviamente a *Convenção Europeia dos Direitos do Homem* e a jurisprudência do Tribunal Europeu dos Direitos do Homem”.

1778 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 11 – with Professor Jónatas Eduardo Mendes Machado*, (Conducted at his office in the Faculty of Law of the University of Coimbra, Portugal, on 28 March, 2011), p. 2.

1779 Note: An attorney and the representative of the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance to the Portuguese Religious Liberty Commission (RLC), serving at the moment as its acting President.

1780 Original text in Portuguese: “A *Lei da Liberdade Religiosa* não avançou o suficiente. Por isso é que eu digo que há liberdade religiosa com algumas limitações. No aspeto urbanístico de facto há esta grave limitação”.

1781 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 6 – with Dr Fernando Soares Loja*, (Conducted at his office in Lisbon, Portugal, on 17 March, 2011), p. 10.

1782 Original text in Portuguese: “...A liberdade religiosa implica direitos iguais, não é só a liberdade de orar”... Soares Loja exemplifica com a própria lei de liberdade religiosa. “Foi publicada em 22 de Junho de 2001, com 60 dias para ser regulamentada. Passaram-se dois anos e meio até que isso acontecesse. Isto diz alguma coisa... Além disso, o regime de direitos, liberdades e garantias da Constituição de 1976 é de aplicação imediata e vincula entidades públicas e privadas. Mas a liberdade de consciência, religião e culto que lá está inscrita foi feita letra morta pelas autoridades”.

1783 [?], *Sorriem mas nunca baixam a guarda*, (News report: Diário de Notícias, Controlinveste – Conteúdos. Lisbon, Portugal. <http://www.dn.pt/>. Accessed on 10 June, 2014), p. 10.

According to Monteiro¹⁷⁸⁴ in *Interview 8* (See Interviews Conducted),¹⁷⁸⁵ “There is a whole definition for the Roman Catholic Church but it is kept in other conditions, other moulds, the *Concordat*. And the other faiths ... are curbed by the *Religious Freedom Act* because it still does not cover all situations”.¹⁷⁸⁶ Additionally, Monteiro states,¹⁷⁸⁷

We have to note with satisfaction the publication of the *Religious Freedom Act*. As I said, it was published late, it should have been passed immediately after the 25th April. However, the truth is that fundamentally the Law is not yet fully complete.¹⁷⁸⁸

Roman Catholics interviewed include Dom Manuel José Macário do Nascimento Clemente, the Roman Catholic Cardinal Patriarch of Lisbon and Dr Paulo Mendes Pinto who welcomed the *2001 Religious Freedom Act*, while Professor José Alves Antunes de Sousa was uncomfortable with it.¹⁷⁸⁹ In *Interview 16* (See Interviews Conducted) the Cardinal stated,¹⁷⁹⁰

The *Religious Freedom Act* gives full guarantees to any confession that respects the Constitution of the State. The general agreement (*Concordat*) between the Holy See and the Portuguese State relates to the socio-cultural reality of [Roman] Catholicism in the country (c. 80% of the population), with a considerable number of institutions of all kinds, in which the State has run justified public interest.¹⁷⁹¹

In addition, Dom Manuel Clemente is of the opinion that,¹⁷⁹² “If any other confession also grows significantly, they may need a similar general agreement (the *Concordat*). Either way, no one is limited in his or her religious freedom, which is basic and equal for all”.¹⁷⁹³ The Director of the Department of Science of Religions in the Lusófona University in Lisbon Dr Paulo Mendes Pinto in *Interview 3* (See Interviews Conducted)

1784 Attorney, politician, and former mayor of the city of Mirandela.

1785 Original text in Portuguese: “Há toda uma definição para a Igreja Católica mas mantem-se noutras condições, noutros moldes, a *Concordata*. E, as outras confissões ... estão espartilhadas pela *Lei da Liberdade Religiosa*, porque continua a não contemplar todas as situações”.

1786 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 8 – with Dr Maximino José da Silva Monteiro*, (Conducted at his office in Lisbon, Portugal, on 23 March, 2011), p. 9.

1787 Original text in Portuguese: “Tem que se registar com apreço a publicação da *Lei da Liberdade Religiosa*. Como já disse, já foi tarde, ela devia ser logo tratada a seguir ao 25 de Abril, mas a verdade é que no fundo é uma Lei que não está devidamente ainda completa”.

1788 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 8 – with Dr Maximino José da Silva Monteiro*, Op. cit., p. 23.

1789 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 7 – with Professor Antunes de Sousa*, Op. cit.

1790 Original text in Portuguese: “A *Lei da Liberdade Religiosa* dá plenas garantias a qualquer confissão que respeite a Constituição da República. O acordo geral (*concordata*) entre o Estado Português e a Santa Sé relaciona-se com a realidade sociocultural do catolicismo no país (c. 80% da população), com um número considerável de instituições de todo o tipo, em cujo funcionamento o Estado tem justificado interesse público”.

1791 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 16 – with Cardinal Patriarch of Lisbon Dom Manuel Clemente*, (Conducted to via email received on 26 December, 2013).

1792 Original text in Portuguese: “Se qualquer outra confissão também crescer consideravelmente, poderá necessitar dum acordo geral semelhante. Mas, seja como for, ninguém fica limitado em capítulo de liberdade religiosa, básica e igual para todos”.

1793 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 16 – with Cardinal Patriarch of Lisbon Dom Manuel Clemente*, Op. cit.

Pinto agrees with Dom Clemente,¹⁷⁹⁴ “I think it was very important that they did not only do the *Religious Freedom Act* but that at the same time ... the *Concordat*”.¹⁷⁹⁵ Professor Antunes de Sousa a Roman Catholic and Professor of Philosophy at the Instituto Jean Piaget in Almada in Portugal, in *Interview 7* (See Interviews Conducted) said,¹⁷⁹⁶

There is a special statute for the [Roman] Catholic Church in the Portuguese socio-cultural context, due to its historical weight, due to demographics, and so forth. Obviously the *Concordat* was already there for a long time, but it has been revised now. Sincerely, it was drastically understated about the privilege status.¹⁷⁹⁷

Most religious leaders of non-[Roman] Catholic institutions and intellectuals interviewed agree that the new *Act* is positive while expressing reservations regarding the existence of the 2001 *Religious Freedom Act* along with the 2004 *Concordat*. According to Rev Dr Paulo Neto Martins Branco in *Interview 2* (See Interviews Conducted),¹⁷⁹⁸

Regarding religious freedom in Portugal, if we make a critical analysis, it is a reality only on paper. Clearly that there is no persecution in Portugal because people are members of this or that religion, but the problem is that there is a *Concordat* and a *Law*. When there is a *Concordat* with the [Roman] Catholic Church and a *Law* for all other religions it is already violating the principle of religious equality.¹⁷⁹⁹

Branco argues that this is so¹⁸⁰⁰ “Because if there is freedom, that freedom should be for everyone regardless of majorities or minorities. Obviously the majorities will have more help than the minorities. But the law should be only one”.¹⁸⁰¹ Professor Fabiano L. A. Fernandes is the Principal of the Instituto Bíblico Português in *Interview 9* (See Interviews Conducted) questions the fact that the Roman Catholic Church has Bishops as members of the Religious Liberty Commission which was instituted by the 2001

1794 Original text in Portuguese: “Penso que foi muito importante que não se fizesse apenas a Lei da Liberdade Religiosa. Mas que a par da Lei da Liberdade Religiosa se tivesse resolvido, literalmente resolvido, a questão da Concordata, pronto. Uma Concordata em termos de direito internacional é um Tratado internacional. Em termos de direito internacional uma Concordata está, tal como qualquer Tratado internacional está acima da própria Constituição”.

1795 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 3 – with Dr Paulo Mendes Pinto*, (Conducted at his office in Universidade Lusófona, Lisbon Portugal, on 11 March, 2011), p. 4.

1796 Original text in Portuguese: “Partimos do princípio de que acima de tudo existe um estatuto especial para a Igreja Católica no contexto sociocultural português, devido ao peso histórico, devido à demografia, e assim por diante. Obviamente que a Concordata já estava lá desde há muito tempo, mas foi revista agora. Sinceramente, foi drasticamente suavizada a respeito do *status* de privilégio”.

1797 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 7 – with Professor Antunes de Sousa*, Op. cit., p. 21.

1798 Original text in Portuguese: “Bem, a liberdade religiosa em Portugal, se queremos fazer uma análise crítica, é uma realidade apenas no papel. Claro que em Portugal não há uma perseguição por causa das pessoas serem desta ou daquela religião, mas o problema é que existe uma *Concordata* e uma *Lei*. Ao existir uma *Concordata* com a Igreja Católica e uma *Lei* para todas as outras religiões já se está a violar o princípio da igualdade religiosa”.

1799 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 2 – with Rev Dr Paulo Branco*, Op. cit., p. 1.

1800 Original text in Portuguese: “Porque se existe uma liberdade a liberdade deve ser para todos independentemente de maiorias ou minorias. Claro que as maiorias terão mais ajuda que as minorias. É lógico. Mas a Lei deve ser apenas uma só”.

1801 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 2 – with Rev Dr Paulo Branco*, Op. cit.

Religious Freedom Act. Professor Fernandes highlights the fact that,¹⁸⁰² “A lot of importance is given to what the Roman Catholic Church thinks about that matter. And, in fact, this new *Religious Freedom Act* puts a huge weight on the Roman Catholic Church which participates in a Commission and gives her opinion on non-[Roman] Catholic parties. In all truth, that seems a bit anachronic; and in fact it is”.¹⁸⁰³ A former President of the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance and the actual President of the Convention of the Assembly of God in Portugal Rev Joaquim Luís Gonçalves dos Reis (Rev Luís Reis) states in *Interview 12* (See Interviews Conducted),¹⁸⁰⁴

If we think about it from a constitutional point of view, the *Portuguese Constitution* advocates religious freedom. If we consider religious freedom from a practical standpoint I would dare to say that we have more tolerance, we are better tolerated than we have religious freedom because in many ways compared to the [Roman] Catholic Church, at times we feel discriminated against.¹⁸⁰⁵

Reis adds,¹⁸⁰⁶

Even if religious freedom has been institutionalized it surely does not put us on an equal footing. There are certain limitations for us Evangelicals, especially in support. The State supports a lot more the [Roman] Catholic Church than it supports us. There is obscurity...¹⁸⁰⁷

Rev José Regra Azevedo in *Interview 23* (See Interviews Conducted), claims that regarding¹⁸⁰⁸ “The impact of the so called *Religious Freedom Act* it is just a painted facade by religious humanism”.¹⁸⁰⁹ In *Interview 22* (See Interviews Conducted) Rev

1802 Original text in Portuguese: “... dá-se muito relevo por exemplo àquilo que a própria Igreja Católica pensa sobre o assunto. E na verdade esta nova *Lei da Liberdade Religiosa*, coloca um enorme peso na própria Igreja Católica que hoje participa numa Comissão em que dá a sua opinião sobre as partes não católicas por exemplo. Isso parece um pouco anacrónico; e na verdade é”.

1803 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 9 – with Professor Fabiano Fernandes*, (Conducted at his office in Instituto Bíblico Português in Tojal, Loures, Portugal, on 25 March, 2011), p. 4.

1804 Original text in Portuguese: “Bom, se pensarmos do ponto de vista constitucional, a *Constituição Portuguesa* preconiza liberdade religiosa. Se considerarmos a liberdade religiosa do ponto de vista prático eu ousaria dizer que nós temos mais tolerância, somos mais tolerados, do que propriamente liberdade religiosa. Porque em muitas coisas comparativamente com a Igreja Católica nós sentimo-nos por vezes discriminados”.

1805 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 12 – with Rev Luís Reis*, Op. cit., p. 2.

1806 Original text in Portuguese: “Mesmo a liberdade religiosa estando institucionalizada como está não nos põe em pé de igualdade. Tem-se, há certas limitações para nós evangélicos ... Especialmente nos apoios. O Estado apoia muito mais a Igreja Católica do que nos apoia a nós. Há um desconhecimento”.

1807 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 12 – with Rev Luís Reis*, Op. cit., p. 5.

1808 Original text in Portuguese: “O impacto da chamada *Lei de Liberdade Religiosa* foi e é apenas uma fachada pintada pelo humanismo religioso”.

1809 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 23 – with Rev José Regra Azevedo*, Op. cit., pp. 3-4.

Óscar Afonso Revez Segura is of the opinion that the new *Religious Freedom Act* is positive,¹⁸¹⁰

I think the *Religious Freedom Act* is good, especially to give more substance to the credibility of the oldest churches, since official recognition is now only after 30 years of existence; and, today, the true sense of the Church waned a bit with the arrival of some movements.¹⁸¹¹

He adds that,¹⁸¹² “[The *2001 Religious Freedom Act*] is positive because we can celebrate weddings ... as well as other benefits”.¹⁸¹³ Dr Jorge Nuno Lopes da Silva Pinheiro is an historian and professor of theology interviewed in *Interview 15* (See Interviews Conducted), who states, “[The *Religious Freedom Act*] ... is better than nothing, it is better than the old situation but of course I think there are certain aspects that could be improved”.¹⁸¹⁴ Pastor Daniel Leitão states in *Interview 24* (See Interviews Conducted), “In my opinion change only took place much later with the slow development of the *Religious Freedom Act*... I certainly believe that it brought equality that was ... needed ... [for] the non-Roman Catholics”.¹⁸¹⁵ According to the Imam of the Central Mosque in Lisbon Sheikh Dr David Munir in *Interview 21* (See Interviews Conducted),¹⁸¹⁶

In general, although there is religious freedom, there are many things relating to it that must grow and improve. For instance, the need to instruct mentalities, and unfortunately many are tired... [As to the *Religious Freedom Act*] it is positive, but it must be put into practice.¹⁸¹⁷

From the above contributions of the various participants it is evident that the *2001 Religious Freedom Act* was viewed as both positive and negative. On the one hand, some believe that the *Act* brought equality while others argue that it took too long to be adopted and that it does not grant the non-Roman Catholics the same status. When asked about the meaning of the *2001 Religious Freedom Act* most interviewees agreed it was an

1810 Original text in Portuguese: “A *Lei da Liberdade Religiosa*, acho que foi boa, sobretudo para dar mais substância na credibilidade às Igrejas mais antigas, uma vez que o reconhecimento é só a partir de 30 anos de existência; e, hoje o verdadeiro sentido de Igreja esvaiu-se um pouco com a chegada de alguns movimentos”.

1811 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 22 – with Ps. Óscar Afonso Revez Segura*, (Conducted via email received on 16 May, 2014, at 10:32 pm), p. 4.

1812 Original text in Portuguese: “Também foi positivo em termos de podermos celebrar casamentos e assim os noivos não precisarem de casar “duas vezes”, e outros benefícios”.

1813 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 22 – with Ps. Óscar Afonso Revez Segura*, Op. cit.

1814 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 15 – with Dr Jorge Nuno Lopes Pinheiro*, (Conducted at a garden in Santo António dos Cavaleiros, Loures, Portugal, on 31 March, 2011), p. 4.

1815 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 24 – with Ps Daniel Leitão*, (Conducted via email received on 30 April, 2014 at 15:22 pm), p. 2.

1816 Original text in Portuguese: “No aspeto geral, podemos dizer que sim, [mas] apesar de haver liberdade religiosa muita coisa tem que crescer e aperfeiçoar. Instruir as mentalidades, algumas infelizmente estão cansadas ... [Quanto à *Lei da Liberdade Religiosa*] é positiva, há que por em prática”.

1817 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 21 – with Sheikh Dr David Munir*, (Conducted via email received on 13 May, 2014, at 10:10 am), pp. 1-2.

achievement of the democratic regime but non-Roman Catholics opposed the 2004 *Concordat*.

5.3.2.2 The 2004 *Concordat*: historical circumstances & alterations

The promulgation of the 2001 *Religious Freedom Act* required the redefinition of the *Concordat*. The 1940 *Concordat* was revised to reflect the Portuguese democratic circumstances and the legislation comprised the 2001 *Religious Freedom Act*.

The discussion concerning the new *Religious Freedom Act* did not envision at first the revision of the 1940 *Concordat* between Portugal and the Holy See. Lopes states,¹⁸¹⁸

The legal position of the [Roman] Catholic Church is properly clarified on the basis of an international agreement in full force, signed in 1940 between the Holy See and the Portuguese Republic, which, by its nature, overlaps the ordinary legislator.¹⁸¹⁹

Lopes states the Portuguese Roman Catholic Bishops thought there was no need to revise the 1940 *Concordat*,¹⁸²⁰ “It was far from the mind of the Portuguese Bishops the need to make the *Concordat* text revision of 1940, as this properly clarified the situation of the Roman Catholic Church in Portugal”.¹⁸²¹ Therefore, the initial idea was that there should not be only a *Religious Freedom Act* for all Portuguese citizens but a *Concordat* for the Roman Catholics and a *Religious Freedom Act* for the non-Roman Catholics.¹⁸²² However, Lopes highlights that the President of the Commission for the Reform of the Religious Freedom Act (Comissão de Reforma da Lei de Liberdade Religiosa – CRLLR) Councillor Dr Sousa Brito clarified in an article published by *Público* on 9 November, 1998 that¹⁸²³

The 1940 *Concordat* was approved and ratified in the constitutional framework of an undemocratic system of government, making it manifestly anachronistic and generating anachronisms, for violating the Constitution ... until its desirable revision.¹⁸²⁴

1818 Original text in Portuguese: “Situação jurídica da Igreja católica está devidamente clarificada com base num acordo internacional em pleno vigor, assinado em 1940 entre a Santa Sé e a República Portuguesa e que, por sua natureza, se sobrepõe ao legislador ordinário”.

1819 Lopes, José Joaquim Almeida, *Direito Eclesiástico Português do Século XXI*, Op. cit., pp. 150-151.

1820 Original text in Portuguese: “Estava longe do pensamento dos Bispos portugueses a necessidade de se proceder à revisão do texto concordatário de 1940, pois este clarificava devidamente a situação da Igreja Católica em Portugal”.

1821 Lopes, José Joaquim Almeida, *Direito Eclesiástico Português do Século XXI*, Op. cit., p. 151.

1822 Ibid., p. 151.

1823 Original text in Portuguese: “A Concordata de 1940 fora aprovada e ratificada no quadro constitucional de um regime de governo antidemocrático, tornando-se manifestamente anacrónica e geradora de anacronismos, por violar a Constituição ... até à desejável revisão”.

1824 Lopes, José Joaquim Almeida, *Direito Eclesiástico Português do Século XXI*, Op. cit., pp. 152-153.

Thus, the process of revising the *1940 Concordat* culminated with the *2004 Concordat*, which was signed at the Vatican by Prime-minister José Manuel Durão Barroso on 18 May, 2004.¹⁸²⁵ However, in an article entitled *Algumas considerações sobre a Concordata de 2004* Carlos Esperança highlighted that the *2004 Concordat* was¹⁸²⁶ “Signed between only two people, Durão Barroso and Cardinal Angelo Sodano”.¹⁸²⁷ According to the Concordat Watch’s online portal the *2004 Concordat* was signed in “secret” and at the “Vatican” by Prime-minister Barroso,

The current *Concordat* was negotiated in secret and it was difficult to access it for a few days after being signed. It was not possible to discuss the text that, once ratified, became internal Portuguese law, and directly applicable.¹⁸²⁸

The negotiations for the new *2004 Concordat* were surrounded by secrecy and were antagonistic to the spirit of the *2001 Religious Freedom Act* as indicated by the unfortunate speech by the Minister of Foreign Affairs Martins da Cruz during the farewell ceremony of the Apostolic Nuncio in Lisbon reinforcing the status of the Roman Catholic Church in Portugal. Esperança states,¹⁸²⁹ “The then foreign minister, Martins da Cruz, promised then what he could not and should not, the strengthening of the influence of the Roman Catholic Church”.¹⁸³⁰ Esperança adds,¹⁸³¹

The current *Concordat* was negotiated in secret and it was difficult to access it for a few days after being signed. It was not possible to discuss the text that, once ratified, became internal Portuguese law, and directly applicable.¹⁸³²

The Director of the Centre for Studies on the Canonical Rights of the Portuguese Roman Catholic University (Centro de Estudos de Direito Canónico da Universidade Católica Portuguesa) Saturdino Gomes agrees with the *Concordat*. In an article entitled *A*

1825 [?], *Concordat (2004): text*, (Article: Concordat Watch, online portal. <http://www.concordatwatch.eu/>. Accessed on 12 June, 2014).

1826 Original text in Portuguese: “Assinado entre Durão Barroso e o cardeal Angelo Sodano, apenas duas pessoas”.

1827 Esperança, Carlos, *Algumas considerações sobre a Concordata de 2004*, (Article: Ponte Europe – Blogspot. Maio - 08 - 2014. <http://ponteeuropa.blogspot.com/>. Accessed on 12 June, 2004).

1828 [?], *Portugal – Concordat (2004)*, (Article: Concordat Watch, online portal. <http://www.concordatwatch.eu/>. Accessed on 9 June, 2014).

1829 Original text in Portuguese: “O então MNE, Martins da Cruz, prometeu aí o que não podia nem devia, o reforço da influência da Igreja Católica Apostólica Romana”.

1830 Esperança, Carlos, *Algumas considerações sobre a Concordata de 2004*, Op. cit.

1831 Original text in Portuguese: “A atual Concordata foi negociada à sorrelfa e foi difícil aceder-lhe, durante alguns dias, depois de assinada. Não tendo sido possível discutir o texto que, depois de ratificado, se tornou direito interno português, diretamente aplicável”.

1832 Esperança, Carlos, *Algumas considerações sobre a Concordata de 2004*, Op. cit.

Concordata 2004 – Comentário Gomes mentions that during the speech by Pope John Paul II at the ceremony of signature of the *Concordat*,¹⁸³³

The Pope, on receiving the Portuguese Prime-minister after having signed the Concordat on 18th May 2004, noted "the feelings of mutual consideration that animate relations between the Holy See and Portugal."¹⁸³⁴

According to Pope John Paul II the new 2004 *Concordat* intended to promote the common good of the Nation¹⁸³⁵ and the Pope acknowledged the fact that the 2004 *Concordat* benefited the mission of the Portuguese Roman Catholic Church because it ensured the support of the Portuguese Republic as well as the national Parliament,¹⁸³⁶ "I express my deep appreciation for the attention that the Government and National Assembly of the Portuguese Republic have demonstrated in relation to the Church's mission, culminating in today's signature".¹⁸³⁷ According to the Pope, the new agreement "Favours the common good of the Nation".¹⁸³⁸ Concerning the contents Gomes referred that the 1940 *Concordat* was not abandoned,¹⁸³⁹

The next step will be the publication of legislation, which shall apply this international treaty. It is natural that doubts and some problems will arise, but everything should be resolved in light of the good performance of the C1940 [1940 *Concordat*] and the principles that underpin the C2004 [2004 *Concordat*].¹⁸⁴⁰

Gomes adds,¹⁸⁴¹

1833 Original text in Portuguese: "O Papa, ao receber o Primeiro-ministro português, após a assinatura da Concordata, em 18 Maio 2004, referiu "os sentimentos de consideração recíproca que animam as relações entre a Santa Sé e Portugal ... Exprimo o meu profundo apreço pela atenção que o Governo e a Assembleia da República portuguesa demonstram em relação à missão da Igreja, culminada na hodierna assinatura". Segundo o Santo Padre, este novo acordo bem favorecer "o bem comum da Nação".

1834 Gomes, M. Satunino, *A Concordata 2004 – Comentário*, (Article: Director do Centro de Estudos de Direito Canónico, Universidade Católica Portuguesa. 30 Junho 2004. <http://www.ucp.pt/>. Accessed on 12 June, 2014).

1835 Ibid.

1836 Original text in Portuguese: "O Papa, ao receber o Primeiro-ministro português, após a assinatura da Concordata, em 18 Maio 2004, referiu "os sentimentos de consideração recíproca que animam as relações entre a Santa Sé e Portugal ... Exprimo o meu profundo apreço pela atenção que o Governo e a Assembleia da República portuguesa demonstram em relação à missão da Igreja, culminada na hodierna assinatura". Segundo o Santo Padre, este novo acordo bem favorecer "o bem comum da Nação".

1837 Gomes, M. Satunino, *A Concordata 2004 – Comentário*, (Article: Director do Centro de Estudos de Direito Canónico, Universidade Católica Portuguesa. 30 Junho 2004. <http://www.ucp.pt/>. Accessed on 12 June, 2014).

1838 Gomes, M. Satunino, *A Concordata 2004 – Comentário*, (Article: Director do Centro de Estudos de Direito Canónico, Universidade Católica Portuguesa. 30 Junho 2004. <http://www.ucp.pt/>. Accessed on 12 June, 2014).

1839 Original text in Portuguese: "A fase seguinte será a da publicação de legislação que aplicará este tratado internacional. É natural que surjam dúvidas e alguns problemas, mas tudo deverá ser resolvido à luz do bom desempenho da C1940 e dos princípios que sustentam a C2004".

1840 Gomes, Satunino, *A Concordata 2004 – Comentário*, Op. cit.

1841 Original text in Portuguese: "A cooperação concretiza-se em diversos domínios, os explícitos e outros que poderão surgir, atendendo à realidade e às necessidades. É fundamental o diálogo entre a Igreja e o Estado, para salvaguarda das suas autonomias e do bem dos cidadãos".

The cooperation is materialized in various explicit fields and others that may arise, given the reality and needs. The dialogue between the Church and the State to safeguard its autonomy and the good of the citizens is essential.¹⁸⁴²

The 2004 *Concordat* raised a number of questions and caused considerable dissention among a number of people. This is obvious in the comments made by the following participants. Reverend Carlos Jorge da Gama Cardoso in *Interview 10* (See Interviews Conducted) argues that¹⁸⁴³ “If Portugal is a secular country why should there be a *Concordat*? This is highly discriminatory against other religions since Portugal is constitutionally a non-confessional State”.¹⁸⁴⁴ Professor António Fernando Nogueira Dias is of the same opinion in *Interview 5* (See Interviews Conducted) wherein he states,¹⁸⁴⁵

It's weird and I'd say this is a paradox. This is because the *Concordat* is an agreement between the Portuguese State and the [Roman] Catholic Church. And this agreement presupposes certain obligations by the State in relation to the [Roman] Catholic Church. Therefore, where is the religious freedom when the Portuguese State signed a *Concordat*? An agreement is signed with a particular Church. This is another symptom that takes us to think that there will not be a one hundred percent religious freedom. Meaning that it's a conditional freedom; isn't it? There is here a kind of a debt to the [Roman] Catholic Church that no one realizes, but why must this be this way when in fact the weight of the *Concordat* rules our lives.¹⁸⁴⁶

In addition, Dias questions the type of religious freedom in Portugal,¹⁸⁴⁷

Then there are other aspects in the country that have to do with representation. When there is an official ceremony, military for example ... with the Protocol [of State] there's the priest, there is a bishop; there is a dignitary of the [Roman] Catholic Church making a representation in a public act. I do not understand when there are no representatives of any other religion present.¹⁸⁴⁸

1842 Gomes, Satunino, *A Concordata 2004 – Comentário*, Op. cit.

1843 Original text in Portuguese: “Se Portugal é um país laico por que deveria haver uma *Concordata*? Isto é altamente discriminatório em relação às outras religiões, uma vez que Portugal é constitucionalmente um Estado não confessional”.

1844 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 10 – with Rev Carlos Jorge da Gama Cardoso*, (Conducted at his house in São João de Rana, Portugal, on 25 March, 2011), p. 3.

1845 Original text in Portuguese: “É estranho e eu diria que isto é um paradoxo. Porque a *Concordata* como sabemos é um acordo que o Estado português tem com a Igreja Católica. E esse acordo pressupõe determinadas obrigações por parte do Estado relativamente à Igreja Católica. Então onde é que está a liberdade religiosa quando o Estado Português assina uma *Concordata*? Assina um acordo com uma determinada Igreja. Esse é mais um sintoma que talvez nos leve a pensar que liberdade religiosa a cem por cento não haverá. Quer dizer, é uma liberdade que está ... ainda condicionada. Não é? Há aqui uma espécie de uma dívida à Igreja Católica que não se percebe bem porque é que isto é assim, quando de facto o peso da *Concordata* rege as nossas vidas”.

1846 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 5 – with Professor António Fernando Nogueira Dias*, Op. cit., pp. 3-4.

1847 Original text in Portuguese: “Depois há outros aspetos no país que têm a ver com a representatividade. Quando há uma cerimónia oficial, militar por exemplo ... com o Protocolo [de Estado]; e, lá está o padre, lá está um bispo, lá está um dignitário da Igreja Católica, a fazer-se representar num ato público. Quer dizer, eu não compreendo. Mas não estão lá os representantes de nenhuma outra religião”.

1848 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 5 – with Professor António Fernando Nogueira Dias*, Op. cit., pp. 4-5.

Segura did not agree with the existence of the *2004 Concordat*. In *Interview 22* (See Interviews Conducted), Segura's ire is obvious in his choice of words,¹⁸⁴⁹

Regarding the *Concordat* I must say that in a secular country like Portugal it is an affront to the *Religious Freedom Act*, which should be the norm for all citizens and also to the spirit of the *Constitution*. It is an aberration.¹⁸⁵⁰

Esperança like Segura was critical of the process towards the adoption of the *Concordat*,¹⁸⁵¹ “The farewell ceremony of the Apostolic Nuncio in Lisbon in 2002 left the worst apprehensions about the backstage of the *Concordat* negotiations”.¹⁸⁵² Esperança indicates that,¹⁸⁵³

The then Minister of Foreign Affairs, Martins da Cruz, promised at the meeting what he could not deliver, the strengthening of the influence of the Roman Catholic Church (RCC) on education, social welfare, culture, in the multiple domains in which we are used to see in an active church’.¹⁸⁵⁴

In addition to Esperança's apprehension the secular nature as contained in the *2001 Religious Freedom Act* was ignored by Minister Martins da Cruz, who stated¹⁸⁵⁵ “With such impunity, he said: ‘As a [Roman] Catholic I consider it a privilege to occupy the position as Minister of Foreign Affairs at the time of this important debate’, as if religion should be explained in a secular State”,¹⁸⁵⁶ to which Esperança replies, “Should [the Minister] defend his religion in a secular State”.¹⁸⁵⁷ Esperança points out that the Portuguese Minister of Foreign Affairs Martins da Cruz abused his office by promising the Apostolic Nuncio to grant privileges to the Roman Catholic in the *2004 Concordat*. According to Esperança, the secrecy surrounding the negotiations and the signature of the *2004 Concordat* is incongruent with the democratic spirit in Portugal particularly when

1849 Original text in Portuguese: “Quanto à Concordata devo dizer que num país laico como Portugal é uma afronta à Lei da Liberdade Religiosa que devia servir de norma para todos os cidadãos. É uma aberração”.

1850 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 22 – with Ps Óscar Afonso Revez Segura*, Op. cit.

1851 Original text in Portuguese: “A cerimónia de despedida do núncio apostólico em Lisboa, em 2002, deixou as piores apreensões sobre os bastidores das negociações da Concordata”.

1852 Esperança, Carlos, *Algumas considerações sobre a Concordata de 2004*, Op. cit.

1853 Original text in Portuguese: “A cerimónia de despedida do núncio apostólico em Lisboa, em 2002, deixou as piores apreensões sobre os bastidores das negociações da Concordata. O então MNE, Martins da Cruz, prometeu aí o que não podia nem devia, o reforço da influência da Igreja Católica Apostólica Romana (ICAR) no domínio «do ensino, da assistência social, da cultura, nos múltiplos domínios em que nos habituámos a ver uma Igreja ativa”.

1854 Esperança, Carlos, *Algumas considerações sobre a Concordata de 2004*, Op. cit.

1855 Original text in Portuguese: “Com total impunidade, afirmou ainda: «Como católico considero um privilégio ocupar a pasta dos Negócios Estrangeiros no momento desta importante negociação», como se a religião se devesse explicitar, num Estado laico”.

1856 Esperança, Carlos, *Algumas considerações sobre a Concordata de 2004*, Op. cit.

1857 Ibid.

the issue is an international agreement which became national law without proper debate,¹⁸⁵⁸

The current *Concordat* was negotiated secretly and it was difficult to access it for a few days after having been signed. The text was not discussed, which once ratified, became internal Portuguese national law, directly applicable. Therefore, it is essential to create a movement of public opinion that might denounce it, and another government that overlaps the interests of the secular state over the religious convictions of its members.¹⁸⁵⁹

The secrecy involved in the debate towards the 2004 *Concordat* raises questions regarding the credibility of the State in dealing with the principle of religious freedom because any international law has to be discussed publicly. The secrecy of the debate as well as of the signature of the 2004 *Concordat* motivated Esperança to argue that the 2004 *Concordat* should be denounced and declared illegal,¹⁸⁶⁰

Therefore, it is essential to create a movement of public opinion that might denounce it, and another government that overlaps the interests of the secular state over the religious convictions of its members.¹⁸⁶¹

Roman Catholics like Professor Sousa think that¹⁸⁶² “The *status* of privilege was drastically understated”,¹⁸⁶³ according to *Interview 7* (See Interviews Conducted). However, he adds that,¹⁸⁶⁴ “[Regarding the 2004 *Concordat*] there is currently discomfort within the [Roman] Catholic Church, especially because of the [Roman] Catholic University benefiting from a special *status*, which is also being questioned. It is a very strong blow to a university that has enough prestige”.¹⁸⁶⁵ Comparing the 1940 *Concordat* with the new 2004 version, there are alterations that are examined below.

The *Concordat* signed in 2004 differs from the previous version of 1940 which changes Articles 4, 8, 9, 16, 17, 21, and 26 as *Público* reports. The alterations found in Article 4

1858 Original text in Portuguese: “A atual *Concordata* foi negociada à sorrelfa e foi difícil aceder-lhe, durante alguns dias, depois de assinada. Não tendo sido possível discutir o texto que, depois de ratificado, se tornou direito interno português, diretamente aplicável, é indispensável um movimento da opinião pública para a sua denúncia e um Governo que sobreponha os interesses do Estado laico às convicções religiosas dos seus membros”.

1859 Esperança, Carlos, *Algumas considerações sobre a Concordata de 2004*, Op. cit.

1860 Original text in Portuguese: “é indispensável um movimento da opinião pública para a sua denúncia e um Governo que sobreponha os interesses do Estado laico às convicções religiosas dos seus membros”.

1861 Esperança, Carlos, *Algumas considerações sobre a Concordata de 2004*, Op. cit.

1862 Original text in Portuguese: “foi drasticamente suavizada a respeito do *status* de privilégio”.

1863 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 7 – with Professor Antunes de Sousa*, Op. cit., p. 21.

1864 Original text in Portuguese: “Há atualmente um desconforto brutal dentro da Igreja Católica, especialmente por causa da Universidade Católica beneficiar de um estatuto especial, e que também está a ser questionado. É um golpe muito forte para uma universidade que tem prestígio suficiente”.

1865 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 7 – with Professor Antunes de Sousa*, Op. cit., p. 21.

are as follows,¹⁸⁶⁶ “This article replaces, in practice, the *Missionary Agreement* attached to the *1940 Concordat* in which were established the rules for the action of the Church in the then Portuguese colonies”.¹⁸⁶⁷ Article 8 was amended and reads thus,¹⁸⁶⁸

This is one of the most profound changes: in 1940, the CEP did not exist as such; the *Concordat* now attaches to the collective body of the episcopate's role as the main interlocutor of the State to negotiate specific issues that are referred to in one or more future agreements.¹⁸⁶⁹

In Article 9,¹⁸⁷⁰

Ends the need for prior notification of the name of new bishops to the Portuguese Government, that during the New State, it has given rise to political vetoes of unwanted bishops by the regime. In addition, it discontinues the requirement that bishops should be of Portuguese nationality.¹⁸⁷¹

Another change to Article 16 concerns¹⁸⁷² “The capacity of the canonical law to annul a marriage shall have automatic civilian purposes”,¹⁸⁷³ which indicates that in this regard the *2004 Concordat* took precedence of the civil laws pertaining to marriage in Portugal. Article 21 refers specifically to the Portuguese Catholic University (Universidade Católica Portuguesa – UCP),¹⁸⁷⁴ “The reference to UCP maintains practically the current situation, as regulated by a Decree-Law since 1990; the Catholic [University] should comply with the Portuguese law and the state recognizes its specificity. Saturnino Gomes, a priest specialised in Canonical Law, admits that the implementation of this Article may be subject to future regulation”.¹⁸⁷⁵ The change in Article 26 is worth

1866 Original text in Portuguese: “Este artigo substitui, na prática, o Acordo Missionário anexo à *Concordata de 1940*, no qual se estabeleciam as regras de ação da Igreja nas então colónias portuguesas”.

1867 [?], *Concordata Anotada*, (Information: Público. Edifício Diogo Cão, Lisboa. [Portugal]. <http://static.publico.pt/>. Accessed on 9 June, 2014).

1868 Original text in Portuguese: “Esta é uma das mudanças mais profundas: em 1940, a CEP não existia como tal; a *Concordata* atribui agora ao órgão coletivo do episcopado o papel de interlocutor principal do Estado para negociar aspectos concretos que são remetidos para um ou vários futuros acordos”.

1869 [?], *Concordata Anotada*, Op. cit.

1870 Original text in Portuguese: “Deixa de existir a necessidade de comunicação prévia do nome de novos bispos ao Governo português que, durante o Estado Novo, deu azo a vetos políticos de bispos indesejados pelo regime. Também cai a obrigação de os bispos serem de nacionalidade portuguesa”.

1871 [?], *Concordata Anotada*, Op. cit.

1872 Original text in Portuguese: “A declaração canónica de nulidade de um casamento passa a ter efeitos civis automáticos”.

1873 [?], *Concordata Anotada*, Op. cit.

1874 Original text in Portuguese: “A referência à UCP mantém praticamente a situação atual, regulada em decreto-lei desde 1990: a Católica deve respeitar o direito português, o Estado reconhece a sua especificidade. Saturnino Gomes, padre e especialista em Direito Canónico, admite que a concretização deste artigo possa ser objeto de regulamentação futura”.

1875 [?], *Concordata Anotada*, Op. cit.

mentioning because,¹⁸⁷⁶ “This Article is the longest and most complex since it frees up the [Roman Catholic] Church and Roman Catholic institutions of a set of duties and taxes; by omission, the priests are no longer exempt from paying IRS”.¹⁸⁷⁷ An explanation must be presented regarding the Roman Catholic position as compared to non-Roman Catholics established in the country.

5.4 THE ROMAN CATHOLIC POSITION IN PORTUGAL COMPARED WITH OTHER RELIGIOUS ENTITIES

The Roman Catholic Church occupies a privileged position in Portuguese society. Social institutions were established over a period of more than five hundred years through which the Roman Catholic Church demonstrated her strength in social care. However, her strength is also manifested through other means like her ability to impose religious public holidays as agreed with the *2004 Concordat*.

5.4.1 THE ROMAN CATHOLIC POSITION REDEFINED BY THE NEW 2004 CONCORDAT

The new *2004 Concordat* redefined the Roman Catholic position and with it came discontent among non-Roman Catholics. The *2004 Concordat* came to normalize relations between the Portuguese State and the Roman Catholic Church. However, the normalization came into effect only some years later, as the State had to write into the legal system the law to regulate the *2004 Concordat*. As the law came into force, the Roman Catholic strength manifested in various ways to be examined below.

5.4.1.1 The 2004 Concordat renewed the relations between the State and the Roman Catholic Church

A few years after the signing of the *2004 Concordat* a conference organised by the Diplomatic Institute of the Portuguese Ministry of Foreign Affairs discussed the impact of the *2004 Concordat* in Portugal. According to an article entitled *Concordata: Conferência faz balanço de dez anos do novo acordo entre Portugal e a Santa Sé*, the

¹⁸⁷⁶ Original text in Portuguese: “Este é o artigo mais longo e mais complexo: isenta-se a Igreja e as instituições católicas de um conjunto de taxas e impostos; por omissão, os padres deixam de estar isentos do pagamento de IRS”.

¹⁸⁷⁷ [?], *Concordata Anotada*, Op. cit.

objective of the conference was,¹⁸⁷⁸ “The goal of the conference organized by the Diplomatic Institute of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was to take stock of the achievements over the past ten years from the signing of the document, and to analyse the future prospects of relations between Portugal and the Vatican”.¹⁸⁷⁹ The article indicates that the long delay of the legal regulation was due to State bureaucracy,¹⁸⁸⁰ “Confusions between the treaty and the *Religious Freedom Act* was approved in 2001”.¹⁸⁸¹ The *2004 Concordat* renewed the relations between the State and the Vatican, redefining the statute of the Roman Catholic Church in Portugal. Gomes states,¹⁸⁸² “The establishment of a Joint Committee provided for in Article 19 was to develop the principle of co-operation. It is this innovative proposal which opened immense prospects for collaboration”.¹⁸⁸³ Concerning the public institutional role of the Portuguese Episcopal Conference (Conferência Episcopal Portuguesa – CEP) Gomes adds,¹⁸⁸⁴

The Holy See and the Portuguese State give a prominent role to the CEP at civil institutional level; it may enter into agreements and protocols with the Government, within its competence. It can be heard on matters relating to the *Concordat* and even others that have implications with the Church and civil society.¹⁸⁸⁵

The CEP plays an important role with regard to the *2004 Concordat* and the State; however, it does not position itself above the bishops or dioceses who report directly to the Pope, according to Gomes,¹⁸⁸⁶

The Apostolic Letter *Apostolos Suos* (21st May 1998) sets the theological and legal statute of the Conferences of ecclesiastical law institutions. They are not a supranational body restricting the action of the Bishops in their Dioceses.¹⁸⁸⁷

1878 Original text in Portuguese: “Fazer o balanço das realizações alcançadas durante os dez anos passados sobre a assinatura do documento e analisar as perspectivas futuras de relacionamento entre Portugal e o Vaticano é o objetivo da conferência promovida pelo Instituto Diplomático, do Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros”.

1879 [?], *Concordata: Conferência faz balanço de dez anos do novo acordo entre Portugal e a Santa Sé*, (News report: Jornal da Madeira, Online portal. <http://www.jornaldamadeira.pt/>. Accessed on 16 June, 2014).

1880 Original text in Portuguese: “confusões entre o tratado e a Lei de Liberdade Religiosa, aprovada em 2001”.

1881 [?], *Concordata: Conferência faz balanço de dez anos do novo acordo entre Portugal e a Santa Sé*, Op. cit.

1882 Original text in Portuguese: “A instituição de uma comissão paritária, prevista no artº 19, tem por finalidade desenvolver o princípio da cooperação. É inovadora esta proposta, o que abre imensas perspectivas de colaboração”.

1883 Gomes, M. Satunino, *A Concordata 2004 – Comentário*, Op. cit.

1884 Original text in Portuguese: “A Santa Sé e o Estado português conferem um papel de destaque institucional à CEP a nível civil, ela poderá celebrar acordos e protocolos com o Governo, no âmbito das suas competências. Poderá ser ouvida nos assuntos respeitantes à Concordata e até noutros que tenham implicações com a Igreja e com a sociedade civil”.

1885 Gomes, M. Satunino, *A Concordata 2004 – Comentário*, Op. cit.

1886 Original text in Portuguese: “A Carta Apostólica *Apostolos Suos* (21 de Maio 1998) define o estatuto teológico e jurídico das Conferências, instituições de direito eclesiástico. Não são um órgão supranacional e que condicionem a ação dos Bispos nas suas Dioceses”.

1887 Gomes, M. Satunino, *A Concordata 2004 – Comentário*, Op. cit.

The process of legal and political transformation encountered some resistance from the State that delayed the process for more than three decades until the promulgation of the *2001 Religious Freedom Act*, Law No.16/2001, of 22 June, 2001 (*Lei da Liberdade Religiosa, Lei nº 16/2001, de 22 de Junho*). The *2001 Religious Freedom Act* altered the legal status of the personal citizen as well as that of non-Roman Catholic religious institutions. Despite this law being promulgated in 2001 it was regulated in 2009, according to a report by the Division of Democracy, Human Rights and Work of the Department of State of the United States published on 13 September 2011 entitled *Relatório Internacional sobre Liberdade Religiosa – Portugal*,¹⁸⁸⁸ “In September 2009, the [Portuguese] Government carried out the necessary regulations to implement the [Religious Freedom] Act of 2001 and amendments to the *Concordat [of 2004]*”.¹⁸⁸⁹

One of the above mentioned Portuguese Roman Catholic ecclesiastical institutions is questioned by non-Roman Catholics because it causes a problem with religious freedom (which is discussed below).

5.4.1.2 The Military Ordinary (Ordinariato Castrense) from the Evangelical/Pentecostal point of view

The Military Ordinary, Religious Support Service to the Armed Forces and of Security (Ordinariato Castrense, Serviço de Assistência Religiosa das Forças Armadas e de Segurança – SARFAFS)¹⁸⁹⁰ is seen as the cause of a problem to religious freedom in Portugal. Apart from the dissolution of marriages which was addressed previously, the other problem in Article 16 of the *2004 Concordat* is directly related to religious freedom because,¹⁸⁹¹

[The *2004 Concordat*] did not decide the end or continuation of the military ranks of priests who exercise the functions of military chaplain. The Bishop of the Armed Forces and others has advocated the patent should come to an end; however this will be decided in a future agreement.¹⁸⁹²

1888 Original text in Portuguese: “Em Setembro de 2009, o governo procedeu à regulamentação necessária para implementar a Lei [da Liberdade Religiosa] de 2001 e as alterações à Concordata [de 2004]”.

1889 *Relatório Internacional sobre Liberdade Religiosa – Portugal*, (Report: Divisão da Democracia, Direitos Humanos e Trabalho do Departamento de Estado dos E.U.A. 13 de Setembro de 2011. <http://www.state.gov/>. Accessed on 20 July, 2015), p. 3.

1890 *Dioceses, Conferência Episcopal Portuguesa*, (Information: Online portal, <http://www.conferenciaepiscopal.pt/>, accessed on 17 July, 2015).

1891 Original text in Portuguese: “O enunciado deixa tudo em aberto: não se opta pelo fim ou pela continuação das patentes militares dos padres que exercem as funções de capelão militar. O bispo das Forças Armadas e outras pessoas já defenderam o fim das patentes, mas tudo se decidirá num futuro acordo”.

1892 [?], *Concordata Anotada*, Op. cit.

The problem is that non-Roman Catholic religious ministers are not regarded by the State as in equal to Roman Catholic priests concerning the chaplaincy of the Armed Forces and Security. The Portuguese State continues to discriminate against non-Roman Catholics by using public money specifically to support the Roman Catholic Military Ordinary in Portugal under the *2004 Concordat* guidelines. There is a contradiction between the *2004 Concordat* and the *2001 Religious Freedom Act* because according to Gomes,¹⁸⁹³ “Religious assistance was provided to those who freely request it without any charge. The State should facilitate this assistance to anyone wanting it, because of the understanding of its importance, but refuses to enforce it”.¹⁸⁹⁴ From the Evangelical/Pentecostal perspective the religious assistance to the Armed Forces, hospitals, and prisons under the *2004 Concordat* is a polemic issue because it is antagonistic to the spirit of the *2001 Religious Freedom Act*. Rev Branco argues in *Interview 2* (See Interviews Conducted) that,¹⁸⁹⁵

The Government does not even bother or care about the minorities in this country; things remain the same... It is thus in relation to the Armed Forces, that there is no access at this time... [The only ones who has access] is the [Roman] Catholic Church.¹⁸⁹⁶

However, as a consequence of the 1974 Revolution Evangelical/Pentecostal pastors are now being considered for chaplaincies which Rev Branco comments thus;¹⁸⁹⁷ “What is happening now is that for the first time the Government has opened the possibility [for Evangelicals to engage in] chaplaincies in hospitals. Training is being offered by the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance to pastors that wish to be in the different chaplaincies in the country. Therefore, as chaplains in the hospitals”.¹⁸⁹⁸ In *Interview 4* (See Interviews Conducted) Rev Dr José Manuel Brissos Lino, the senior pastor of Igreja do Jubileu in Setúbal and the Rector of Universidade Senior, is of the following opinion:¹⁸⁹⁹

1893 Original text in Portuguese: “[A] assistência religiosa é prestada a quem a solicitar livremente, sem qualquer imposição. O Estado modera esta assistência, oferece-a a quem desejar pois compreende a sua importância, recusa-se a impô-la”.

1894 Gomes, M. Satunino, *A Concordata 2004 – Comentário*, Op. cit.

1895 Original text in Portuguese: “O governo nem se preocupa nem quer saber das minorias neste país; continua a ser a mesma coisa... É assim, em relação às forças armadas não há acesso neste momento... [A única que tem acesso] é a Igreja Católica”.

1896 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 2 – with Rev Dr Paulo Branco*, Op. cit., p. 10.

1897 Original text in Portuguese: “E o que está a acontecer agora é que vai abrir pela primeira vez a possibilidade de capelanias nos hospitais. Então está a ser dado agora uma formação pela Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa a pastores que queiram estar nas diferentes capelanias do país. Como capelães – portanto – dos hospitais”.

1898 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 2 – with Rev Dr Paulo Branco*, Op. cit.

1899 Original text in Portuguese: “Nesta *Lei da Liberdade Religiosa* já se preveem capelanias para outras religiões. Mas mais uma vez temos aqui uma cultura da mentalidade. Porque o que persiste, tanto quanto sei, é que os capelães hospitalares, por exemplo, continuam a ser padres católicos... Parece que a mentalidade é o mais difícil de mudar. Sabemos que o mais difícil de mudar é a

This *Religious Freedom Act* already provides for chaplaincies of other religions. But, here again we have a culture of old mentality. This is because what persists as far as I know, is that the hospital chaplains, for example, continue to be [Roman] Catholic priests... It seems that the old mentality is the most difficult to change. We know that the hardest thing to change is the culture. Culture is the hardest to change and it does change a lot slower than the actual *Act*. Therefore, the *Law* already provides chaplaincies. It seems that the [Portuguese Evangelical] Alliance is doing some courses for people interested in being employed by these chaplaincies. But, so far I have not seen any substantive difference in this respect.¹⁹⁰⁰

Consequently, the 2004 *Concordat* continues the old status quo disguised under the ideal of ‘religious freedom’. According to Gomes:¹⁹⁰¹

Article 17 parallels in article XVIII C1940 (Article 18): religious assistance to the Armed Forces and the jurisdiction of the Military Ordinary. The Portuguese State continues to ensure religious assistance to the Armed Forces, basing it on religious freedom.¹⁹⁰²

Evangelical and Pentecostal leaders are questioning the fact that the State finances all the activities and personnel of the Roman Catholic Military Ordinary while this does not extend to other religious confessions since they are prevented from being chaplains in the Armed Forces. In spite of the Evangelical and Pentecostal arguments against the Roman Catholic Military Ordinary under the above 2004 Concordatory guidelines, Dr Fernando Soares Loja¹⁹⁰³ has stated the following (*Interview 6*, See Interviews Conducted),¹⁹⁰⁴

According to the new *Law* chaplaincies are no longer private to [Roman] Catholic priests, although the chaplains that are serving do maintain their statute until they die or resign. However, there has been some work done by the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance along with the [Roman] Catholic Church, which somehow has been forced to work with this new reality. There is some movement towards allowing the ministers of religion from registered churches – and there is in fact a difference from those who are not registered. [This is so because] only the collective religious people can accredit ministers of religion who later register with the general

cultura. A cultura é o mais difícil de mudar e muda de uma forma muito mais lenta do que a própria *Lei*. Portanto, a *Lei* já prevê capelanias. Parece que a Aliança está a fazer alguns cursos para pessoas interessadas em ser funcionários dessas capelanias. Mas até agora ainda não vi nenhuma diferença substantiva nessa matéria”.

1900 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 4 – with Rev Dr José Manuel Brissos Lino*, Op. cit., pp. 4-5.

1901 Original text in Portuguese: “O artº 17º tem paralelo no artº XVIII da C1940 (artº 18º): a assistência religiosa às Forças Armadas e a jurisdição do Ordinário Castrense. O Estado português continua a garantir essa assistência religiosa às Forças Armadas, baseando-se na liberdade religiosa”.

1902 Gomes, M. Satunino, *A Concordata 2004 – Comentário*, Op. cit.

1903 An attorney, the representative of the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance serving as acting president of the State established Commission for Religious Freedom.

1904 Original text in Portuguese: “De acordo com a *Lei* nova as capelanias deixaram de ser privativas dos padres católicos. Embora os capelães que estejam ao serviço mantêm o seu estatuto até morrerem ou até resignarem. Enfim... Entretanto, tem havido algum trabalho até da Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa juntamente também com a Igreja Católica que de alguma forma tem sido obrigada a colaborar com esta nova realidade. Há alguma evolução no sentido de permitir que os ministros do culto das igrejas registadas – e aí faz uma diferença de facto daquelas que não estão registadas (se não tiver personalidade jurídica, ou terem personalidade jurídica forem apenas associações elas não tem ministros do culto oficialmente) – Então, só as pessoas coletivas religiosas é que podem credenciar ministros do culto que depois se registam junto das direcções gerais que tutelam estes serviços (sejam os serviços prisionais, sejam os hospitalares, sejam os estabelecimentos militares)”.

directions that oversee these services (services such as the military, prison establishments, and hospitals).¹⁹⁰⁵

Gomes has mentioned Professor António de Sousa Franco,¹⁹⁰⁶ one of the members of the delegation of the Holy See negotiating the *2004 Concordat* with the Portuguese State. According to Gomes, Franco has explained that the *2004 Concordat* deals with the Roman Catholic Military Ordinary as if it is only a matter between the Portuguese State, the Portuguese Episcopal Conference, and, the Holy See:¹⁹⁰⁷

Paragraph 3 includes the forms of exercise and organization of religious assistance, without going into details. However, it states its organization and regulation must be done through agreements among the stakeholders. These are the [Portuguese] State, and the Church (the Holy See, and the Portuguese Episcopal Conference) [- Portuguese Roman Catholic Church -]. The question of the ranks of the military chaplains and their statute will be defined in subsequent legislation. Moreover, Paragraph 4 of Article 17 makes provision for the possibility of the [Roman Catholic] ecclesiastical personnel to fulfil their military obligations in the form of religious assistance to the Armed Forces and Security.¹⁹⁰⁸

However, these specific rights granted by the *2004 Concordat* to the Roman Catholics are not applicable to the non-Roman Catholic religions within the legal framework of the *2001 Religious Freedom Act*. Therefore, the *2004 Concordat* goes far beyond conceding rights to the Roman Catholic Church than the *Act* does for other religions in Portugal. Carlos Esperança is the president of the Associação Ateísta Portuguesa. Esperança (*Interview 25*, See Interviews Conducted) states:¹⁹⁰⁹ “The existence of (always [Roman] Catholic) hospital, prison and military chaplaincies are a tool of discrimination against other religious faiths”.¹⁹¹⁰ Another area that requires revision because it is regarded as discriminatory by non-Roman Catholics is the religious public holidays.

1905 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 6 – with Dr Fernando Soares Loja*, Op. cit., pp. 11-12.

1906 Representative of the Holy See in the negotiations between the Vatican State and the Portuguese State for the *2004 Concordat*.
Source: Gomes, M. Satunino, *A Concordata 2004 – Comentário*, Op. cit.

1907 Original text in Portuguese: “O n.º 3 contempla as formas de exercício e de organização da assistência religiosa, sem entrar em pormenores, mas remetendo a sua organização e regulamentação através de acordos entre as partes interessadas. Estas são o Estado e a Igreja (Santa Sé, Conferência Episcopal Portuguesa). A questão da graduação dos capelães militares e do seu estatuto será definido em legislação posterior. Por outro lado, o n.º 4 do artigo 17.º ressalva a possibilidade dos eclesiásticos poderem cumprir as suas obrigações militares sob a forma de assistência religiosa às forças armadas e de segurança”.

1908 Gomes, M. Satunino, *A Concordata 2004 – Comentário*, Op. cit.

1909 Original text in Portuguese: “A existência de capelanias hospitalares, militares e prisionais (sempre católicas) são um instrumento de discriminação das outras confissões religiosas”.

1910 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 25 – with Mr. Alfredo Barroco Esperança*, (Conducted via email received on 21 June, 2014), pp. 2-3.

5.4.1.3 Religious public holidays in the 2004 Concordat

A Sunday is regarded as the official day of rest whereas religious public holidays are addressed in Article 3 of the 2004 Concordat which states,¹⁹¹¹ “The Sunday, is an important day for Christians and should be respected”.¹⁹¹² Gomes explains,¹⁹¹³ “Other festive days or public holidays will be considered in separate Agreements. For now, Article 30 embodies the current festivals as holidays, leaving open the possibility of change”.¹⁹¹⁴ Gomes adds,¹⁹¹⁵

Article 30 – The Portuguese State recognizes some [Roman] Catholic festivities as holidays: 1st January, Corpus Christi, Ascension, All Saints, Immaculate Conception, and Christmas. Moreover, Article 3 had already stated that the State declares that it recognizes Sundays as feast days. Some festivities might be added or eliminated.¹⁹¹⁶

The Evangelicals and Pentecostals do not complain about the Roman Catholic religious public holidays despite the fact that these public holidays are celebrated against their Christian theological convictions. Roman Catholic education is discussed next.

5.4.1.4 Portuguese guidelines for religious education

According to the 2001 Religious Freedom Act the Roman Catholic Church, the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance, as well as other religious entities, are authorized by law to minister the subject of “Morals and Religion” in public schools. This subject of “Morals and Religion” is presented upon the request of parents/learners to a minimum of ten learners.

Article 20 of the 2004 Concordat grants the Catholic University in Lisbon legal privileges and security which no legislation including the 2001 Religious Freedom Act offers to non-Roman Catholic theological colleges. In this regard Gomes states,¹⁹¹⁷

1911 Original text in Portuguese: “O Domingo, como dia importante para os cristãos, é respeitado”.

1912 Gomes, M. Satunino, *A Concordata 2004 – Comentário*, Op. cit.

1913 Original text in Portuguese: “Outros dias festivos, feriados, serão considerados em Acordos separados. Para já, o artigo 30º integra as festas atuais como feriados, deixando aberta a possibilidade da sua alteração”.

1914 Gomes, M. Satunino, *A Concordata 2004 – Comentário*, Op. cit.

1915 Original text in Portuguese: “Artº 30. O Estado português reconhece algumas festividades católicas como feriados: 1 de Janeiro, Corpo de Deus, Assunção, Todos os Santos, Imaculada Conceição, Natal. Logo no artº 3, o Estado declara que reconhece como dias festivos os Domingos e prevê a celebração de um Acordo peculiar para este efeito. Poderão ser acrescentados ou até eliminados alguns dias festivos”.

1916 Gomes, M. Satunino, *A Concordata 2004 – Comentário*, Op. cit.

1917 Original text in Portuguese: “O direito da Igreja Católica à fundação de seminários e estabelecimentos de formação e cultura eclesiástica está consagrado... Acrescenta-se um novo conteúdo: o reconhecimento dos estudos, graus e títulos obtidos nesses estabelecimentos «é regulado pelo direito português, sem qualquer forma de discriminação relativamente a estudos de idêntica

It is enshrined [in the 2004 *Concordat*] the right of the [Roman] Catholic Church to the foundation of seminars and training establishments aligned with her ecclesiastical culture... But, it adds up a new content: the recognition of studies, degrees and titles obtained from these institutions' "it is governed by Portuguese law, without any form of discrimination against studies of a similar nature" (Article 20.3). It is a way of valuing and recognizing the educational and cultural activities of the [Roman] Catholic Church in Portuguese society, and even accepted by non-[Roman] Catholic sectors.¹⁹¹⁸

The lack of recognition of academic degrees is a problem raised by the Principals of Evangelical and Pentecostal Biblical Institutes. Professor Fabiano Fernandes (*Interview 9*, See Interviews Conducted) is the Principal of the interdenominational Instituto Bíblico Português based in Tojal who states,¹⁹¹⁹

We do not have academic accreditation in Portugal. When we made some attempts in the past they had no effect. And, since 2007 there is a new *Law* – a new legal regime – regulating schools of higher education, which are good laws, but does not conform to our reality. So, to scrupulously comply with this *Law*, I see no existing Evangelical institution capable of being a recognized college. We would like to have room for our work as also being legitimized by educational authorities; but there isn't one at the moment.¹⁹²⁰

The Principal of the Monte Esperança Instituto Bíblico das Assembleias de Deus, the theological Bible School of the Assemblies of God Rev Dr Paulo Branco (*Interview 2*, See Interviews Conducted) stated:¹⁹²¹

It is recognized as a religious entity but it is not recognized as a college. This is so because there is no political will to recognize the Theological Seminars in the sense of law, as it happens in Protestant countries. The only one who has a college is the Catholic University. But, all types of barriers are put so we can do something in the legal sense, and they are so many that we never can make it. And four of us have met, the various directors of different educational institutions in Portugal, to study the *Law* and found out that it was impossible for us to be able to reach these levels of recognition economically. We are recognized inside [the Evangelical denominations,] and we are recognized by other states of Europe. But, after, we have to resort to diplomas, and the students have to write tests outside to have inside recognition. It is very unfortunate.¹⁹²²

natureza» (artº 20,3). É uma forma de valorizar e reconhecer a ação educativa e cultural da Igreja Católica na sociedade portuguesa, aceite até por sectores não católicos”.

1918 Gomes, M. Satunino, *A Concordata 2004 – Comentário*, Op. cit.

1919 Original text in Portuguese: “Não temos [acreditação em Portugal. Quando fizemos algumas tentativas no passado não surtiu efeito. E desde 2007 que existe uma nova *Lei* – um novo regime jurídico – que regula as escolas do ensino superior. São boas leis, mas que não se adequam à nossa realidade. De modo que a cumprir escrupulosamente essa *Lei*, não vejo nenhuma instituição evangélica existente capaz de estar, de ser uma escola superior reconhecida, assim. Bem, gostaríamos que houvesse espaço para a nossa atuação, legitimada também pelas autoridades educacionais; mas neste momento não há”.

1920 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 9 – with Professor Fabiano Fernandes*, Op. cit., pp. 15-16.

1921 Original text in Portuguese: “É assim, é reconhecida como um ente religioso mas não é reconhecida a par de uma faculdade. Portanto... Ok? Porque não há vontade política para reconhecer os seminários no sentido de direito, portanto como noutros países protestantes. A única que tem uma faculdade é a Universidade Católica. Mas todos os entraves que põem para podermos fazer alguma coisa no sentido legal são tantos que jamais... E nós já estivemos reunidos os vários diretores de Portugal, das diferentes instituições de ensino, quatro, exatamente, para estudando a *Lei* e verificamos que era impossível nós podermos alcançar esses patamares até do ponto de económico. Não é reconhecido aqui dentro e é reconhecido por outros estados da Europa que depois temos que recorrer a diplomas, pronto, a fazer provas fora para termos o reconhecimento dentro. É lamentável”.

1922 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 2 – with Rev Dr Paulo Branco*, Op. cit., p. 9.

Roman Catholics are also facing some difficulties, according to Gomes,¹⁹²³

Paragraph 2 provides recognition for degrees, certificates and diplomas obtained by these schools, taking into consideration what the Portuguese law provides for similar schools in nature and quality. There has been a trend towards accepting and recognizing the diplomas of private schools, as a natural consequence of its quality. But, much remains to be done in this field, to implement equality and fairness, and not penalizing non-state schools.¹⁹²⁴

The non-accreditation of non-Roman Catholic theological colleges by the Portuguese Ministry of Education and the State is incongruent with the democratic spirit of the *2001 Religious Freedom Act* and persists with the discrimination against Evangelicals and Pentecostals. This is evident in the 2004 Concordatory guidelines for the Catholic University in Lisbon.

5.4.1.5 Concordatory guidelines for the Lisbon Catholic University

Article 21 of the *2004 Concordat*, Paragraph 3 refers to the specificity of the Catholic University (Universidade Católica) placing it in the sphere between the public and the private institutions of higher education. Gomes explains,¹⁹²⁵

[The Catholic University has a] conferred legal concordatory protection. The University develops its actions in the scope of the freedom of education, the Portuguese legality, but with a particular flavour, which is the specificity of their ecclesial nature.¹⁹²⁶

He adds that,¹⁹²⁷

The Government legislation regulating their statutes is Law-Decree 128/90, of 17th April. Its statutes were approved by the Holy See in 1993, mentioning the recognition obtained by the Portuguese State by Decree-Law No 307/71 of 15 July, revised by Decree-Law No. 128/90 of 17th April.¹⁹²⁸

1923 Original text in Portuguese: “Tem havido uma evolução no sentido de aceitar e reconhecer os diplomas das escolas privadas, como consequência natural da sua qualidade. Mas há muito ainda por fazer neste campo, pondo em prática a igualdade e a equidade, e não penalizando as escolas não estatais”.

1924 Gomes, M. Satunino, *A Concordata 2004 – Comentário*, Op. cit.

1925 Original text in Portuguese: “ [À Universidade Católica] é-lhe conferida proteção legal concordatária. A Universidade desenvolve a sua ação no âmbito da liberdade de ensino, da legalidade Portuguesa, mas com um cunho particular, isto é, o da sua especificidade eclesial”.

1926 Gomes, M. Satunino, *A Concordata 2004 – Comentário*, Op. cit.

1927 Original text in Portuguese: “O diploma governamental que regula o seu estatuto é o Decreto-Lei 128/90, de 17 de Abril. Os seus Estatutos, aprovados pela Santa Sé em 1993, fazem menção do reconhecimento obtido pelo Estado português pelo Decreto-Lei n° 307/71, de 15 de Julho, revisto pelo Decreto-Lei n° 128/90, de 17 de Abril”.

1928 Gomes, M. Satunino, *A Concordata 2004 – Comentário*, Op. cit.

The 2004 *Concordat* bestowed a privileged status on the Catholic University which is evident by the fact that,¹⁹²⁹ “So far, the courses that the University offers are not subject to Government approval, however, the degrees are recognized, [the UC has] the financial support of the Government”.¹⁹³⁰

5.4.1.6 The State and Roman Catholic Joint Committee for the implementation of the 2004 *Concordat*

Article 28 of the 2004 *Concordat* concerns health, education, cultural heritage and religious public properties. These areas are important to national history as well as for social welfare and as a result a Joint Committee was established between the Holy See and the Portuguese State to develop the activities contained in the 2004 *Concordat* in the spirit of cooperation. The Joint Committee was tasked to resolve issues related to the above matters in support of the Roman Catholic Church in Portugal. Gomes states,¹⁹³¹ “A novelty is the institution, between the two parties (State and Holy See) of a Joint Committee that will develop its activities in the light of the principle of cooperation”.¹⁹³² Gomes adds,¹⁹³³

This Commission is required because it is anticipated the natural emergence of doubts about some aspects of the implementation of the new text. It is part of the principle of sound cooperation that should work at the level of bilateral relations between States.¹⁹³⁴

In Gomes’ opinion,¹⁹³⁵ “We can conclude that this is a good *Concordat*, adapted to the current reality of the Church and of Portugal, which is a member of the European Union”.¹⁹³⁶ However, this is not the opinion of non-Roman Catholics.

1929 Original text in Portuguese: “Até ao momento, os cursos da Universidade não são submetidos ao Governo para aprovação, mas os graus são reconhecidos. O apoio financeiro do Governo tem diminuído nestes últimos anos, causando graves problemas à gestão da Universidade”.

1930 Gomes, M. Satunino, *A Concordata 2004 – Comentário*, Op. cit.

1931 Original text in Portuguese: “Uma novidade é a instituição entre as duas partes (Estado e Santa Sé) de uma comissão paritária, que desenvolverá a sua atividade à luz do princípio da cooperação”.

1932 Gomes, M. Satunino, *A Concordata 2004 – Comentário*, Op. cit.

1933 Original text in Portuguese: “É necessária esta Comissão, pois prevê-se o natural aparecimento de dúvidas quanto a alguns aspectos da aplicação do novo texto. É um princípio de sã cooperação e que funciona a nível das relações bilaterais entre os Estados”.

1934 Gomes, M. Satunino, *A Concordata 2004 – Comentário*, Op. cit.

1935 Original text in Portuguese: “Podemos concluir que esta é uma boa Concordata, adaptada à realidade atual da vida da Igreja e de Portugal, membro que é da União Europeia”.

1936 Gomes, M. Satunino, *A Concordata 2004 – Comentário*, Op. cit.

5.4.1.7 Non-Roman Catholic unrest concerning the 2004 Concordat

The 2004 *Concordat* has not been well accepted by non-Roman Catholics in Portugal which is expressed in various forms and forums. The Evangelical and Pentecostal leaders' point of view concerning the 2004 *Concordat* has been discussed earlier. However, the Portuguese Atheist Association (Associação Ateísta Portuguesa – AAP) is an association whose main objective is¹⁹³⁷ “The representation of the legitimate interests of atheists, agnostics and other people without religion”.¹⁹³⁸ This group represents a large portion of the Portuguese society made up of atheists, agnostics and other non-religious individuals. The President of the AAP Carlos Esperança states in *Interview 25* (See Interviews Conducted),¹⁹³⁹ “The *Religious Freedom Act* has become a necessity, given the existence of the *Concordat*, to give crumbs [to religious minorities] or to conceal the scandalous privileges of the [Roman] Catholic Church”.¹⁹⁴⁰ Esperança compares the manner in which Portugal deals with the Roman Catholic Church as Muslim countries do in various areas of society,¹⁹⁴¹ “This is just like Muslim countries, progressively increasing their influence in education, health care and in pious welfare, and transforming constitutional rights during a time of crisis”.¹⁹⁴² According to Esperança the problem is that constitutionally Portugal is a secular country which implies the Roman Catholic Church should not have the privileges granted by the 2004 *Concordat*,¹⁹⁴³

In a secular State the right of belief and disbelief must have equal value and those in power have no right to define what religious truth is or become an instrument of spreading the faith and supporting any religious confession.¹⁹⁴⁴

Consequently, Esperança states that the Military Ordinary is a case of discrimination by the State against non-Roman Catholic religious denominations,¹⁹⁴⁵ “The existence of

1937 Original text in Portuguese: “A representação do legítimo interesse dos ateus, agnósticos e outras pessoas sem religião”.

1938 Esperança, Alfredo Carlos Barroco, Ed., *Associação Ateísta Portuguesa*, (Information: Odivelas, Portugal, 20 April, 2012. <http://www.aateistaportuguesa.org/>. Accessed on 20 June, 2014).

1939 Original text in Portuguese: “A Lei da Liberdade Religiosa tornou-se uma necessidade, face à Concordata, para dar migalhas que escondessem os privilégios escandalosos da Igreja Católica”.

1940 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 25 – with Mr. Alfredo Barroco Esperança*, Op. cit., pp. 2-3.

1941 Original text in Portuguese: “Um pouco à semelhança dos países muçulmanos, vai aumentando progressivamente a sua influência no ensino, saúde e assistência, transformado direitos constitucionais, numa época de crise, em assistencialismo pio”.

1942 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 25 – with Mr. Alfredo Barroco Esperança*, Op. cit.

1943 Original text in Portuguese: “Num Estado laico o direito à crença e à descrença deve ter igual valor e não cabe ao poder de turno definir o que é a verdade religiosa ou ser um instrumento de propagação da fé e de sustentação de qualquer culto”.

1944 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 25 – with Mr. Alfredo Barroco Esperança*, Op. cit.

(always [Roman] Catholic) hospital, prison and military chaplaincies are a tool of discrimination against other religions”.¹⁹⁴⁶ However, Esperança adds that the discriminatory actions by politicians include electoral strategies,¹⁹⁴⁷

There are shocking aspects with regard to political opportunism, in their eagerness to win votes. It is common for City Councils to pay excursions for the elderly residents of nursing homes to visit the [Roman Catholic] Fatima shrine.¹⁹⁴⁸

Portugal is a secular State in which it is unconceivable that politics and the Armed Forces take public stands in favour of a particular religion which is another form of discrimination. Esperança argues,¹⁹⁴⁹

The militarized Armed Forces continue to participate in [Roman Catholic] processions, and the President of the Republic has lent himself to chair the Committee of Honour of the canonization of Nuno Alvares Pereira.¹⁹⁵⁰

The above are examples of discriminatory actions practiced by the State apparatus which are not acceptable in a secular state. Despite the above mentioned areas of discrimination; Portugal is a country that in general respects human rights but still violates fundamental citizen's rights as mentioned below.

5.4.2 Regulation of the 2001 Religious Freedom Act and the 2004 Concordat in 2009

The *2009 Human Rights Report: Portugal* by the U.S. Department of State Diplomacy in Action, states that, “In 2008 the ECHR found two violations by the country of freedom of expression, as provided under Article 10 of the *European Convention on Human Rights*”.¹⁹⁵¹ With regard to freedom of peaceful assembly and association the *Report* indicates that, “The *Constitution* and law provide for freedom of assembly and

1945 Original text in Portuguese: “Num Estado laico o direito à crença e à descrença deve ter igual valor e não cabe ao poder de turno definir o que é a verdade religiosa ou ser um instrumento de propagação da fé e de sustentação de qualquer culto. A existência de capelanias hospitalares, militares e prisionais (sempre católicas) são um instrumento de discriminação das outras confissões religiosas”.

1946 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 25 – with Mr. Alfredo Barroco Esperança*, Op. cit.

1947 Original text in Portuguese: “Há aspetos chocantes no que diz respeito ao oportunismo político, na ânsia de ganhar votos. É vulgar as Câmaras Municipais pagarem excursões a Fátima a idosos internados em lares”.

1948 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 25 – with Mr. Alfredo Barroco Esperança*, Op. cit.

1949 Original text in Portuguese: “Há aspetos chocantes no que diz respeito ao oportunismo político, na ânsia de ganhar votos. É vulgar as Câmaras Municipais pagarem excursões a Fátima a idosos internados em lares. As Forças Armadas e militarizadas participam em procissões, e o próprio presidente da República prestou-se a presidir à Comissão de Honra da canonização de Nuno Álvares Pereira”.

1950 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 25 – with Mr. Alfredo Barroco Esperança*, Op. cit.

1951 *2009 Human Rights Report: Portugal*, (Report: U.S. Department of State Diplomacy in Action, online portal, <http://www.state.gov/>. Accessed on 11 August, 2015).

association, and the Government generally respected these rights in practice”.¹⁹⁵² Concerning freedom of religion the *Report* states, “The law provides a legislative framework for religious groups either established in the country for at least 30 years or recognized internationally for at least 60 years”.¹⁹⁵³ The *Report* adds,

Religious groups that meet at least one of these tests receive benefits, including full tax-exempt status, legal recognition to perform marriages and other rites, permission for chaplain visits to prisons and hospitals, and recognition of their traditional holidays.¹⁹⁵⁴

In addition, the above mentioned *Report* states, “On September 23, [2009] a new law went into effect allowing all religions to provide chaplains for the military, prisons, and hospitals. Previously these state-funded positions were open to [Roman] Catholics only”.¹⁹⁵⁵ However, it is imperative to indicate that to date there have been no appointments of non-Roman Catholic chaplains for the Armed Forces, hospitals or prisons.

Another *Report* entitled International Report on Religious Freedom in Portugal 2009 (*Relatório Internacional sobre Liberdade Religiosa PORTUGAL 2009*) highlights the following,¹⁹⁵⁶

The 2001 *Religious Freedom Act* established a legal framework for religions established for at least 30 years in the country and for those internationally recognized for at least 60 years. This law provides for qualifying religious groups the reserved benefits that were granted previously only to the [Roman] Catholic Church.¹⁹⁵⁷

According to this *Report*,¹⁹⁵⁸ “The [Roman Catholic] Church maintain a separate agreement under the 1940 *Concordat* as re-negotiated in 2004 in observance of the [2001] *Religious Freedom Act*”.¹⁹⁵⁹ The teaching of the subject “Morals and Religion” in public schools consists of¹⁹⁶⁰ “An overview of the religions in the world and is taught by

¹⁹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵⁶ Original text in Portuguese: “A Lei da Liberdade Religiosa, de 2001, institui um enquadramento legal para as religiões estabelecidas há pelo menos 30 anos no país, bem para aquelas reconhecidas internacionalmente há pelo menos 60 anos. Esta lei atribui às religiões abrangidas, benefícios anteriormente reservados à Igreja Católica”.

¹⁹⁵⁷ *Relatório Internacional sobre Liberdade Religiosa PORTUGAL 2009*, (Report: Divisão da Democracia, Direitos Humanos e Trabalho do Departamento de Estado dos E.U.A., 26 de Outubro de 2009. Online portal, <http://www.state.gov/>. Accessed on 11 August, 2015), p. 3.

¹⁹⁵⁸ Original text in Portuguese: “A Igreja [Católica Romana] mantém um acordo distinto nos termos da Concordata de 1940, renegociada em 2004 em observância da Lei da Liberdade Religiosa”.

¹⁹⁵⁹ *Relatório Internacional sobre Liberdade Religiosa PORTUGAL 2009*, Op. cit.

¹⁹⁶⁰ Original text in Portuguese: “um panorama geral das religiões no mundo e é lecionada por leigos... A Igreja Católica ... e outras religiões podem organizar disciplinas”.

lay people... The [Roman] Catholic Church and other religions ... can arrange the subjects’”.¹⁹⁶¹ In addition, the *Report* states that,¹⁹⁶²

Unlike the previous report, there were no records of cases of societal abuses or discrimination based on affiliation, belief or religious practice. Leading figures of the Portuguese society took positive steps to promote religious freedom... The Government continued to promote interfaith understanding... The Working Group for Inter-Religious Dialogue, sponsored by the Government, promotes multicultural and multi-religious dialogue between the Government and society.¹⁹⁶³

The *2001 Religious Freedom Act* altered the legal status of the personal citizen as well as that of non-Roman Catholic religious institutions. Despite this law being promulgated in 2001 it was only regulated in 2009, according to a *Report* by the Division of Democracy, Human Rights and Work of the Department of State, of the United States, published on 13 September 2011 entitled *International Report on Religious Freedom – Portugal (Relatório Internacional sobre Liberdade Religiosa – Portugal)*,¹⁹⁶⁴ “In September 2009, the [Portuguese] Government carried out the necessary regulations to implement the *[Religious Freedom] Act 2001* and amendments to the *Concordat [2004]*”.¹⁹⁶⁵

An important aspect to be addressed below concerns social institutions by which the State sponsors Roman Catholic as well as other religious entities but in a discriminatory manner.

5.4.3 Social Institutions – Roman Catholic and others

The overwhelming presence of the Roman Catholic Church through their caring ministry in the Portuguese society is felt by the extent of her social institutions. This aspect is relevant to this study as compared with the expression of other religious confessions in social work because of the State’s unequal support of other religious groups.

¹⁹⁶¹ *Relatório Internacional sobre Liberdade Religiosa PORTUGAL 2009*, Op. cit.

¹⁹⁶² Original text in Portuguese: “Ao contrário do relatório anterior, não houve registos de casos de abusos sociais ou discriminação relacionados com afiliação, crença ou prática religiosa. Altas individualidades da sociedade portuguesa tomaram medidas positivas a fim de promover a liberdade religiosa ... O Governo continuou a promover o entendimento interconfessional ... O Grupo de Trabalho para o Diálogo Inter-Religioso, patrocinado pelo Governo, promove o diálogo multicultural e multirreligioso entre o Governo e a sociedade”.

¹⁹⁶³ *Relatório Internacional sobre Liberdade Religiosa PORTUGAL 2009*, Op. cit., p. 5.

¹⁹⁶⁴ Original text in Portuguese: “Em Setembro de 2009, o governo procedeu à regulamentação necessária para implementar a Lei [da Liberdade Religiosa] de 2001 e as alterações à Concordata [de 2004]”.

¹⁹⁶⁵ *Relatório Internacional sobre Liberdade Religiosa – Portugal*, Op. cit., p. 3.

5.4.3.1 Roman Catholic social institutions

Taiana de Maria states in an article entitled *Igreja Católica a Maior Instituição de Caridade do Mundo!*¹⁹⁶⁶

The [Roman Catholic] Church is the institution in Portugal that has paid more attention and more persistently to social action. The [Roman Catholic] Church has always been a key agent and a key force in the management of people and resources related to social solidarity. For this social action ... it is an effective action for the building up of God's Kingdom, contributing to the better ordering of human society, initiated from the Christian community.¹⁹⁶⁷

Roman Catholic social institutions developed under three categories, which is discussed below.

(a) The Holy Houses of Mercy (Santas Casas da Misericórdia)

The Holy Houses of Mercy (Santas Casas da Misericórdia) is half of all institutions registered in the Direcção-geral da Acção Social which is a Government welfare arm. This is corroborated by Ricardo Marques in an article entitled *O voluntariado da dialéctica Estado/Igreja em Portugal – Princípios de substituição da complementaridade*,¹⁹⁶⁸ “Regarding the [Roman Catholic] Church, exists a ‘conservative/corporate taxing base’ through the Mercy Houses that are half of all Particular Institute of Social Solidarity (*Instituto Particular de Solidariedade Social – IPSS*) registered with the General Directorate of Social Action”.¹⁹⁶⁹ According to the online portal of the União das Misericórdias Portuguesas there are¹⁹⁷⁰ “397 Mercy Houses”,¹⁹⁷¹ which were established over a period of more than five hundred years¹⁹⁷² as a joint venture between the Roman Catholic Church and the Portuguese State.¹⁹⁷³

1966 Original text in Portuguese: “A Igreja é a instituição que em Portugal mais atenção prestou e de um modo mais persistente à acção social. A Igreja sempre foi um agente determinante e uma força fundamental na gestão das pessoas e dos meios relacionados com a solidariedade social. Para esta a acção social “... trata-se de um agir eficaz em ordem à edificação do Reino de Deus, contribuindo para a melhor ordenação da sociedade humana, a partir de comunidade cristã”.

1967 De Maria, Taiana, *Igreja Católica a Maior Instituição de Caridade do Mundo!* (Information: Temas Polémicos da Igreja Católica, Blogspot, 16 October, 2010. <http://temaspolemicosigreja.blogspot.com/>. Accessed on 14 June, 2014).

1968 Original text in Portuguese: “Relativamente à Igreja, observa subsistir uma “tributação de base conservadora/corporativa” onde ela representa, através das misericórdias, metade das IPSSs registadas na Direcção-Geral da Acção Social”.

1969 Marques, Ricardo, *O voluntariado da dialéctica Estado/Igreja em Portugal – Princípios de substituição da complementaridade*, (Article: e-cadernos CES. Policredos. Política da Cultura e Religião na Europa do Sul. Centro de Estudos Sociais, Universidade de Coimbra. Publicação trimestral, nº 13, Secularismos Hoje. 2011. <http://www.ces.uc.pt/>. Accessed on 14 June, 2014), p. 18.

1970 Original text in Portuguese: “397 Misericórdias”.

1971 De Lemos, Manuel, *União das Misericórdias Portuguesas*, (Video presentation: Online portal of the União das Misericórdias Portuguesas. Lisboa. [Portugal]. <http://www.ump.pt/>. Accessed on 14 June, 2014).

(b) The Portuguese Caritas (Cáritas Portuguesa)

The Cáritas Portuguesa is a Roman Catholic institution established to care for the population. According to de Maria, this institution was directly constituted by the Portuguese Episcopal Conference,¹⁹⁷⁴

The Portuguese Cáritas is an official institution of the Portuguese Episcopal Conference, dedicated to the promotion and development of the social work of the Church. It envisions at the assistance, the promotion, and development of social transformation, fighting for a fairer society, with the participation of those affected by any form of exclusion or emergency, without regard to beliefs, cultures, or ethnic origin.¹⁹⁷⁵

(c) Other Roman Catholic centres of social care

The Roman Catholic Social Centres (Centros Sociais Paroquiais) as well as other Roman Catholic religious institutions are present in most parishes across the country. De Maria states,¹⁹⁷⁶ “The Parish Social Centres, the Parish Centres of Social Welfare or other institutions strongly linked to the Roman Catholic Church, are the second oldest IPSS,¹⁹⁷⁷ known before 1983 as Assistance Institute”.¹⁹⁷⁸ Apart from the Roman Catholic institutions, there are non-Roman Catholic social institutions.

5.4.3.2 Non-Roman Catholic social institutions

The quantity of social efforts by non-Roman Catholic institutions needs to be considered according to religious membership in Portuguese society. This should explain the scarce existence of non-Roman Catholic social institutions. However, mention has to be made of some very successful institutions contributing to the well-being of the Portuguese.

1972 De Lemos, Manuel, *Mensagem do Presidente*, (Information: União das Misericórdias Portuguesas. Lisboa. [Portugal].

<http://www.ump.pt/>. Accessed on 14 June, 2014).

1973 De Maria, Taiana, *Igreja Católica a Maior Instituição de Caridade do Mundo!* Op. cit.

1974 Original text in Portuguese: “A Cáritas Portuguesa é uma instituição oficial da Conferência Episcopal Portuguesa, vocacionada para a promoção e dinamização da ação social da Igreja. Visa a assistência e também a promoção, o desenvolvimento e a transformação social. Luta por uma sociedade mais justa, com a participação dos que são atingidos por qualquer forma de exclusão ou emergência, sem olhar a crenças, culturas, etnias ou origem”.

1975 De Maria, Taiana, *Igreja Católica a Maior Instituição de Caridade do Mundo!* Op. cit.

1976 Original text in Portuguese: “Os Centros Sociais Paroquiais, os Centros Paroquiais de Bem-Estar Social ou outras congregações religiosas, fortemente ligadas à Igreja Católica, são as segundas IPSS mais antigas, denominadas antes de 1983 por Institutos de Assistência”.

1977 IPSS is the Portuguese acronym for Particular Institution of Social Solidarity (Instituição Particular de Solidariedade Social – IPSS).

1978 De Maria, Taiana, *Igreja Católica a Maior Instituição de Caridade do Mundo!* Op. cit.

(a) The Teen Challenge (Desafio Jovem)

Teen Challenge was founded in New York (USA) by the Pentecostal Pastor David Wilkerson in “1958”,¹⁹⁷⁹ as a ministry to the ‘ghettos’. It was established by the Assemblies of God in Portugal as Desafio Jovem by Pastor Joaquim Lucas da Silva.¹⁹⁸⁰ According to its online portal, the vision and purpose is clear and the results attractive for the support of the Red Cross and the Portuguese State,¹⁹⁸¹

The prevention and treatment of drug addiction and (re) integration of individuals with these issues; there are three areas linked to distinct action programs, which have proven deserved recognition, the support and cooperation of various official bodies.¹⁹⁸²

The growth of the institution is connected to the alteration of its legal status, but it also illustrates the transformation of Portugal’s official approach to religious social institutions, including those of Evangelical/Pentecostal origin and is a very fruitful partnership. In “1978”¹⁹⁸³ a farm was bought in Fanhões for the first Centre of Recuperation and in “1981”¹⁹⁸⁴ the Teen Challenge Portugal (Desafio Jovem Portugal) was constituted as an institution.¹⁹⁸⁵ Another farm was purchased in Salvaterra de Magos in “1986”¹⁹⁸⁶ and the Technical Staff was appointed in “1989”.¹⁹⁸⁷ The year “1990”¹⁹⁸⁸ saw the State granting a new statute for the institution, that of the IPSS status with final registration under No. 14/90 in the Book of Health Institutions.

The Crisis Centre in Lourel, Sintra was created in “1991”¹⁹⁸⁹ and an Agreement of Cooperation was signed between the¹⁹⁹⁰ “Regional Social Security Centre of Lisbon and the Tagus Valley and Teen Challenge for clients in the Apartments of Social

1979 [?], *A origem do Desafio Jovem*, (Information: Desafio Jovem online portal. <http://www.desafiojovem.com/>. Accessed on 25 June, 2014).

1980 Ibid.

1981 Original text in Portuguese: “a prevenção das toxicodependências e o tratamento e (re)inserção dos indivíduos com estas problemáticas – três áreas de ação vinculadas a programas distintos, cujo comprovado reconhecimento tem merecido o apoio e a cooperação oficial de diversos organismos”.

1982 [?], *A origem do Desafio Jovem*, Op. cit.

1983 Ibid.

1984 Ibid.

1985 [?], *Desafio Jovem (Teen Challenge) Portugal*, (Legislation: Diário da República Nº 293, III Série, 22 de Dezembro de 1981).

1986 [?], *A origem do Desafio Jovem*, Op. cit.

1987 Ibid.

1988 Ibid.

1989 Ibid.

1990 Original text in Portuguese: “Centro Regional Segurança Social de Lisboa e Vale do Tejo e o Desafio Jovem para utentes em Apartamentos de Reinserção”.

Reintegration”.¹⁹⁹¹ The Crisis Centre in Castanheira do Ribatejo was launched in “1994”,¹⁹⁹² while in “1995”¹⁹⁹³ the Ethics Committee was created. The State (SPTT) endorsed operation license to the therapeutic centres in the years “1996/97”.¹⁹⁹⁴ During the year “1999”¹⁹⁹⁵ other items were attached to the Agreement of Cooperation and the Centre of Alter do Chão was launched. In “2001”¹⁹⁹⁶ the Centre of Cucujães was launched and the Centre of Fanhões was transformed into a Community of Integration in “2006”,¹⁹⁹⁷ while the Centre of Cucujães was transformed as a Mixed Community in “2009”.¹⁹⁹⁸

(b) The Blue Cross Portugal (Cruz Azul de Portugal)

The initial Blue Cross was established in Switzerland on 23 September, 1877 and subsequently spread to more than 50 countries in 4 continents. According to Cruz Azul’s online portal, it was established in Portugal on 19 February, 1986. It¹⁹⁹⁹ “Is supported by a variety of Portuguese Evangelical Churches”.²⁰⁰⁰ Registered with the Ministry of Health under (nº 9/90) the Cruz Azul de Portugal also has the status of IPSS. According to its online portal, the Cruz Azul de Portugal²⁰⁰¹

Aims at: preventing alcoholism; treating and reintegrating victims of alcoholism; acting in the context of other licit and illicit drugs; and developing special programs targeted at youth through specialized departments.²⁰⁰²

This is an example of an Evangelical/Pentecostal oriented social institution being supported by the State. As from 5 July, 2006²⁰⁰³ the Cruz Azul de Portugal is supported by the Town Council of Seixal, which has allocated 17, 816 square metres of land for the erection of a therapeutic centre. An historical trend is evident among members of the

1991 [?], *A origem do Desafio Jovem*, Op. cit.

1992 Ibid.

1993 Ibid.

1994 Ibid.

1995 Ibid.

1996 Ibid.

1997 Ibid.

1998 Ibid.

1999 Original text in Portuguese: “... é apoiada por uma variedade de Igrejas Evangélicas Portuguesas”.

2000 [?], *Quem Somos*, (Information: Cruz Azul de Portugal online portal, <http://www.cruzazul.pt/>. Accessed on 25 June, 2014).

2001 Original text in Portuguese: “Tem por objetivos: prevenir o alcoolismo; tratar e reinserir as vítimas do alcoolismo; intervir no âmbito das outras drogas lícitas e ilícitas; e desenvolver programas especiais direcionados à juventude através de departamentos especializados”.

2002 [?], *Quem Somos*, Op. cit.

2003 Ibid.

leftist political spectrum in positions of authority who are more willing to engage with non-Roman Catholic confessions for public support as Dr Vera Jardim explained during an interview,²⁰⁰⁴

In some cases some municipalities [led by Socialist politicians] ceded land [to the Evangelicals] because there was always the idea in the Socialist Party that the [Roman] Catholic Church enjoyed a privileged status in Portugal and, such privileged status should not be kept.²⁰⁰⁵

(c) **The Philadelphia Christain Life Association** **(Associação Vida Cristã Filadélfia)**

Various Christian denominations are transforming their church welfare work into particular institutions of social security (IPSS). This is the case of the Assembleia de Deus Pentecostal – Igreja Filadélfia,²⁰⁰⁶ which has established the Associação Vida Cristã Filadélfia as an IPSS. Reverend Jorge Manuel da Costa Jacinto the president of both institutions stated (*Interview 20*, See Interviews Conducted),²⁰⁰⁷

Initially we did not have many difficulties, because the law creating the IPSS had been approved, and not only had our church got an institution with that status. Many [Evangelical] churches had already done this kind of social work in the community and among their members and then institutionalized their social work. Later it was a little harder to sign contractual protocols with the State (with the Social Security and the Ministry of Education) for the different valences that responded to the needs of the population whom we served.²⁰⁰⁸

Pastor Jorge Jacinto is engaged in the renewal of the constitution of both his church and social institution to update them with the legal developments and polity. The reasons for the upgrade of the statutes are:²⁰⁰⁹

In the AVCF, it has to do with the appropriateness of the same social reality that the IPSS must meet to serve the communities and operate according to the different types of responses that it has to give, which is completely different from 20 or 30 years ago when we began our

2004 Original text in Portuguese: “Nalguns casos algumas câmaras municipais cederam terrenos [aos Evangélicos] porque sempre houve a ideia no Partido Socialista de que a Igreja Católica gozava de um estatuto de privilégio em Portugal. E que esse estatuto de privilégio não se devia manter”.

2005 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 13 – with Dr José Vera Jardim*, Op. cit., pp. 21-23

2006 [?], *Assembleia de Deus Pentecostal – Igreja Filadélfia*, (Information: Igogo online portal. <http://www.igogo.pt/>. Accessed on 1 July, 2014).

2007 Original text in Portuguese: “Inicialmente não tivemos muitas dificuldades, porque tinha sido aprovado a lei da criação de IPSS, e não só a nossa igreja como tantas outras que já faziam este tipo de trabalho social nas comunidades e entre os seus membros. Posteriormente foi um pouco mais difícil contratualizar protocolos com o Estado (com a Segurança Social e o Ministério da Educação) para as diferentes valências que respondiam às necessidades da população a que assistíamos”.

2008 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 20 – with Rev Jorge Manuel da Costa Jacinto*, (Conducted via email received on 26 June, 2014), p. 1.

2009 Original text in Portuguese: “Na AVCF, tem a ver com a adequação dos mesmos à realidade social a que as IPSS têm de responder às comunidades onde estão inseridas e às diferentes tipologias de respostas a que tem que dar, completamente diferente de há 20 ou 30 anos quando começamos o trabalho social. Em relação à igreja, tem de facto a ver com a *Lei da Liberdade Religiosa*, à qual todas as entidades religiosas têm de se adaptar e estar em conformidade com a lei”.

social work. Regarding the church it has to do with the Religious Freedom Act, to which all religious entities must adapt and conform to the law.²⁰¹⁰

Concerning the polity of the State towards the Evangelical IPSS in the country Jacinto feels discriminated against,²⁰¹¹

The attitude of the representatives of the State is to address the IPSS linked to the [Roman] Catholic Church in a preferred mode. For example, we feel that they only consult and economically support non-[Roman] Catholic IPSSs because they do not want to be seen as discriminatory. The way they do it is covertly; but, there is discrimination in the treatment.²⁰¹²

That is, the State officials do not engage directly with non-Roman Catholic IPSSs, adds Jacinto,²⁰¹³ “We always have to take the initiative”,²⁰¹⁴ he continues,²⁰¹⁵

There is always a weight of influence that the [Roman] Catholic Church has, just by their percentage of representation in Portuguese society. Even at the level of local state institutions, with the possibility of transfer of land or subsidies to building social or religious buildings, the [Roman] Catholic Church or the Holy Houses of Mercy always take precedence over other institutions, although sometimes in a not explicit way.²⁰¹⁶

The representation through the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance (AEP) to defend the rights of his institutions Jacinto claims that he is not confident that the AEP can represent the interests of his church and the IPSS because,²⁰¹⁷ “I have relationally removed myself [from the AEP] for not finding precisely the necessary and interventional representation we should have as our representative”.²⁰¹⁸ When asked if he would use the courts to seek justice in the case of need of his institutions Jacinto answered,²⁰¹⁹ “Certainly I would resort to the available instances. But always with a sense of apprehension regarding the

2010 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 20 – with Rev Jorge Manuel da Costa Jacinto*, Op. cit., p. 2.

2011 Original text in Portuguese: “A postura dos representantes do Estado trata as IPSS ligadas à Igreja Católica de modo preferencial. Por exemplo, sente-se que só consultam e apoiam economicamente as IPSS não católicas porque não querem parecer discriminatórios. O modo como o fazem é de forma encoberta mas há discriminação no tratamento”.

2012 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 20 – with Rev Jorge Manuel da Costa Jacinto*, Op. cit.

2013 Original text in Portuguese: “temos de ser nós sempre a tomar a iniciativa”.

2014 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 20 – with Rev Jorge Manuel da Costa Jacinto*, Op. cit.

2015 Original text in Portuguese: “sempre há um peso de influência, que a igreja Católica tem, logo pela sua percentagem de representação na sociedade portuguesa. Mesmo a nível das instituições locais, havendo possibilidade de cedência de terrenos ou subsídios para a edificação de respostas sociais ou religiosas a Igreja Católica ou as Santas Casas da Misericórdia, terão sempre prioridade em detrimento das outras instituições, ainda que às vezes de uma forma não explícita”.

2016 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 20 – with Rev Jorge Manuel da Costa Jacinto*, Op. cit., p. 5.

2017 Original text in Portuguese: “estou relacionalmente afastado por não encontrar precisamente a representação necessária e interventiva que deveria ter como nossa representante”.

2018 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 20 – with Rev Jorge Manuel da Costa Jacinto*, Op. cit., p. 2.

2019 Original text in Portuguese: “Certamente recorrerá às instâncias disponíveis. Mas sempre com um sentimento de apreensão relativamente ao tratamento que poderia vir a ter em relação “à influência e peso que a Igreja Católica tem na nossa sociedade”.

treatment which we might have against the influence and weight that the Roman Catholic Church has on society”.²⁰²⁰

(d) The Assemblies of God social work through various IPSSs

The Portuguese Assemblies of God (Assembleias de Deus de Portugal) is the largest Pentecostal denomination in Portugal with more than 400 churches and congregations established across the country. In a telephonic interview with the Secretary of the national Convention Lúcia Martins²⁰²¹ reported that apart from the Portuguese Assemblies of God orphan’s home Lar de Betânia – established on²⁰²² “18 April, 1965”²⁰²³ there are IPSSs established by the following Assembly of God local churches: Almada, Benfica, Lisboa, Portimão, Porto and Santarém.²⁰²⁴

The Assembly of God of Lisbon established a home for the elderly in Bicesse and another in Almeirim, a Centre for Social Support in Marvila, Lisbon, as well as the Christian Association of Social Action and Reintegration (Associação Cristã de Reinserção e Apoio Social – ACRAS),²⁰²⁵

The ACRAS is the social arm of the Pentecostal Evangelical Assembly of God Church of Lisbon, recognized as a legal person of public utility [IPSS]. The ACRAS seeks to contribute to the overall improvement of living conditions of the people living in Lisbon, socially and economically vulnerable in situations of deprivation, exclusion and risk. Over more than 50 years the institution has provided aid to the needy, two nursing homes, one in Almeirim and another in Bicesse and the Centre for Social Support (CAS) in Marvila, Lisbon. While an IPSS (*Instituição Particular de Solidariedade Social*) our purpose is to give organized, moral solidarity and justice that is not administered by the State or by local authorities.²⁰²⁶

2020 Da Silva, F. C., *Interview 20 – with Rev Jorge Manuel da Costa Jacinto*, Op. cit., p. 4.

2021 Lúcia Martins, *Convenção da Assembleias de Deus em Portugal*, (Information: Secretária da Convenção, online portal, <http://www.cadp.pt/>. Accessed on 1 July, 2014).

2022 Original text in Portuguese: “18 de Abril de 1965”.

2023 *Orfanato Lar de Betânia (IPSS)*, (Information: Established on 18 April 1965. <http://www.cadp.pt/>. Accessed on 1 July, 2014).

2024 Da Silva, F. C., *Telephonic Interview 17 – with Lúcia Martins (Secretária da Convenção)*, (Conducted on 1 July, 2014, at 10:56 am).

2025 Original text in Portuguese: “A ACRAS é o braço social da Igreja Evangélica Assembleia de Deus Pentecostal de Lisboa, reconhecida como pessoa coletiva de utilidade pública. A ACRAS procura contribuir para o melhoramento global das condições de vida das pessoas residentes em Lisboa, social e economicamente vulneráveis, em situação de privação, exclusão e risco. Ao longo de mais de 50 anos desenvolveu-se um trabalho de ajuda aos mais carenciados, com dois lares para idosos, um em Almeirim e outro em Bicesse, e com o CAS (Centro de Apoio Social) em Marvila (Lisboa). Enquanto IPSS (Instituição Particular de Solidariedade Social) temos como propósito de dar expressão organizada ao dever moral de solidariedade e de justiça que não sejam administradas pelo Estado ou por corpos autárquicos”.

2026 [?], *Quem Somos*, (Information: ACRAS – Associação Cristã de reinserção e Apoio Social online portal. <http://acras.pt/>. Accessed on 1 July, 2014).

(e) The Abundant Life Association (Associação Vida Abundante)

The transformation of the Assembly of God of Moscovide into the Centro Cristão Vida Abundante (CCVA) by Pastor João Cardoso became a story of success. The church has grown into a federation of autonomous churches – all named ‘CCVA’ – across Portugal, Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique of which there are more than 80 local churches according to the CCVA online portal,²⁰²⁷

[As from] (1990), the influence of this [church] extended to the centre area of the country, forcing a total change of the statutes, and the church to being called Abundant Life Christian Centre (Assembly of God). Since 1991, the church was no longer linked to any denominational structure, characterized as an open church that seeks to live and preach the Gospel. Not taking into account their denominational name or colour, it maintains ties of relationship with all affiliated Evangelical Christian churches with the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance.²⁰²⁸

The CCVA has launched various institutions such as Vida Press for the publishing of Pentecostal literature, the Zoë Bible School (Escola Bíblica – Zoë) for the formation of Christian leadership, and, the Associação Vida Abundante to reach out to society with helping hands according to the CCVA online portal,²⁰²⁹

The Abundant Life Association is a private charitable organization committed to public service and dedicated to promoting the personal development of the individual three-dimensional level - spirit, soul and body - based on Christian values that preach social justice. It is dedicated to the implementation of actions and projects that target at enabling people, giving them conditions for a life with dignity and respect.²⁰³⁰

This institution was legalized in “1990”.²⁰³¹

2027 Original text in Portuguese: “[A partir de] (1990), a influência desta [igreja] estende-se até à zona centro do país, obrigando a uma alteração total dos estatutos, passando a chamar-se Centro Cristão Vida Abundante (Assembleia de Deus). Em 1991, deixa de estar ligada a qualquer estrutura denominacional, caracterizando-se como uma igreja aberta, que busca viver e pregar o Evangelho, não tendo em conta o seu nome ou cor denominacional, mantendo laços de relacionamento com todas as igrejas cristãs evangélicas filiadas na Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa”.

2028 [?], *Historial*, [Information: Centro Cristão Vida Abundante]. Op. cit.

2029 Original text in Portuguese: “A Associação Vida Abundante, é uma instituição particular de solidariedade social de utilidade pública comprometida e dedicada a promover o desenvolvimento pessoal do indivíduo ao nível tridimensional – espírito, alma e corpo – baseado em valores cristãos que pregam a justiça social. É vocacionada para a realização de ações e projetos que têm como alvo possibilitar às pessoas, condições para uma vida com dignidade e respeito”.

2030 [?], *Associação Vida Abundante*, (Information: Associação Vida Abundante. Alvalade, Lisboa. Portugal. Online portal, <http://www.ccva.org/>. Accessed on 26 June, 2014).

2031 [?], *Conhecer: Historial - Origens*, (Information: Associação Vida Abundante online portal, <http://www.avabundante.org/>. Accessed on 26 June, 2014).

(f) The Remar Portugal

Established in 1989 the Remar Portugal bought a farm in Penafiel²⁰³² “Hosting marginalized people, the homeless, drug addicts and others”.²⁰³³ In “1990”²⁰³⁴ another centre was opened in Viseu. A house established for destitute families in Lousã in “1991”.²⁰³⁵ In “1992”²⁰³⁶ another centre in Azambuja was opened, and an additional farm was adapted to serve those in need in “1995”.²⁰³⁷ The centre of Palmela was opened in “1997”²⁰³⁸ and the work extended to Algarve with another centre, in “1998”.²⁰³⁹ These are only some examples of the Evangelical/Pentecostal based institutions operating in Portugal in cooperation with the State. This engagement by the Portuguese State with other faiths is positive as opposed to the previous traditional and predominantly Roman Catholic-State cooperation in social affairs.

(g) Other Christian welfare organisations

An example of a Baptist institution devoted to social care is the “New Life Foundation (Fundação Vida Nova)”.²⁰⁴⁰ The New Life Home for the Aged (Lar de Idosos Vida Nova) was established by the Brethren.²⁰⁴¹ The Seventh Day Adventist for Development, Resources and Assistance (Associação Adventista para o Desenvolvimento Recursos e Assistência – ADRA) is an institution providing social aid. According to a report entitled *Portugal – Relatório de Actividades de 2008* the institution is the Adventist Church’s arm with²⁰⁴² “The specific objectives to foster individual and community development and to provide emergency assistance in disaster situations”.²⁰⁴³

2032 Original text in Portuguese: “recebendo pessoas marginalizadas, sem abrigo, toxicodependentes e outros”.

2033 Dos Santos, Luís Miguel, *História da Instituição*, (Information: Remar Portugal online portal. <http://www.remar.pt/>. Accessed on 15 July, 2014).

2034 Ibid.

2035 Ibid.

2036 Ibid.

2037 Ibid.

2038 Ibid.

2039 Ibid.

2040 [?], *Fundação Vida Nova*, (Legislation: Regulamento Interno de Funcionamento 2012/2013 – CATL. Alcobaca, Portugal. <http://vidanova.pt/>. Accessed on 16 July, 2014), p. 2.

2041 [?], *Organizações e Grupos Independentes – Lar de Idosos*, (Information: Comunhão de Igrejas de Irmãos em Portugal. Lar de Idosos Vida Nova. Pardilhó. [Portugal]. Online portal. <http://www.ciip.net/>. Accessed on 16 July, 2014).

2042 Original text in Portugal: “os objetivos específicos de fomentar o desenvolvimento individual e comunitário, e de providenciar ajuda de emergência em situações de catástrofe”.

2043 [?], *Portugal – Relatório de Actividades de 2008*, (Report: ADRA Portugal. ADRA – Associação Adventista Para o Desenvolvimento, Recursos e Assistência. Lisboa, [Portugal]. <http://www.adra.org.pt/>. Accessed on 16 July, 2014), p. 1.

(h) Neo-Pentecostal welfare organisations

The Universal Church of the Kingdom of God (IURD) has a newly built²⁰⁴⁴ “Old Age Home in Azambuja”.²⁰⁴⁵ Among other social institutions “IPSS”,²⁰⁴⁶ the IURD has also the Friendly Hand House of Hospitality (Casa de Acolhimento Mão Amiga), which is²⁰⁴⁷ “An institution for the care of children at risk”.²⁰⁴⁸ The Manna Christian Church (Maná Igreja Cristã) has established²⁰⁴⁹ “Charity Centres”²⁰⁵⁰ in Portugal.

It is important to note that had it not been for the 1974 Revolution the above mentioned non-Roman Catholic institutions of social care would not have been possible.

5.5 AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE PORTUGUESE RELIGIOUS SPECTRUM

The Roman Catholic Church was the recognized religion of the Portuguese nation; however, subsequent to the 1974 Revolution a number of other religions infiltrated the Portuguese society, which later gave rise to the many churches and religious bodies established in Portugal that demonstrates the increasing transformation of the Portuguese society. The entire religious spectrum in Portugal has transformed because Portugal was originally a Christian Roman Catholic country but subsequent to the 1974 Revolution various other religions have established bases in Portugal. Below follows a discussion of the various religious entities established in Portugal in 2009.

5.5.1 CHRISTIAN CHURCHES

Christianity in the form of Roman Catholicism has its presence well established in Portugal; however, there is a gradual establishment of new Christian denominations. This gradual transformation of the Portuguese religious spectrum is a consequence of the 1974 Revolution. The influx of various Christian denominations transformed the Portuguese

2044 Original text in Portuguese “Lar de Idosos na Azambuja”.

2045 Filol, Joana, Joana Loureiro, *Entrevista – Exclusivo: IURD responde*, (Interview: Visão, Notícias. 11:58, Thursday, 13 August, 2009. Online portal, <http://visao.sapo.pt/>. Accessed on 16 July, 2014).

2046 Ibid.

2047 Original text in Portuguese: “uma instituição de acolhimento de crianças em risco”.

2048 Filol, Joana, Joana Loureiro, *Entrevista – Exclusivo: IURD responde*, Op. cit.

2049 Original text in Portuguese: “Centros de Caridade”.

2050[?], *Grupo Maná - Identificação*, (Information: Grupo Maná. Quinta da Ribeirinha, Santo Antão do Tojal, Loures, Lisboa. Portugal. <http://www.igrejamana.com/>. Accessed on 16 July, 2014).

society considerably but Roman Catholicism still remains the dominant religious group. Below follows a discussion of the Roman Catholic Portuguese Episcopal Conference.

(a) The Roman Catholic Portuguese Episcopal Conference (CEP)

The Portuguese Roman Catholic Church is organized as 20 Dioceses, led by bishops, namely the following Dioceses: Algarve; Angra; Aveiro; Beja; Braga; Bragança-Miranda; Coimbra; Évora; Funchal; Guarda; Lamego; Leiria-Fátima; Lisboa; Portalegre-Castelo Branco; Porto; Santarém; Setúbal; Viana do Castelo; Vila Real; Viseu. Additionally, the Portuguese Episcopalian Conference (Conferência Episcopal Portuguesa) includes the “Ordinariato Castrense” and the “Prelatura da Santa Cruz e Opus Dei”. The Patriarchate is in Lisbon being led by Dom Manuel Clemente.²⁰⁵¹

The Portuguese Roman Catholic Church is engaged²⁰⁵² with the ecumenical movement and is not averse to collaboration with other non-Roman Catholic Christians as illustrated by the activities promoting Christian unity organized by the Portuguese Roman Catholic Section of “Pax Christi” (Secção Portuguesa da Igreja Católica Romana).²⁰⁵³ One of the joint activities between Protestant and Roman Catholic leaders held annually is the Week of Prayer for Christian Unity (Semana de Oração pela Unidade dos Cristãos). For this event a common guideline for prayer is²⁰⁵⁴ “Prepared jointly by the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity and the Commission on Faith and Order of the World Council of Churches”.²⁰⁵⁵ As from 1968 the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity and the Commission on Faith and Order of the World Council of Churches annually adopt a theme for the Week of Prayer for Christian Unity. The theme chosen for 1974 was:²⁰⁵⁶ “That every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord (*Philippians* 2, 1-13, Preparatory meeting in Geneva, Switzerland)”.²⁰⁵⁷ This international trend was filtered through to Portugal and consequently the theme chosen for 1974 was accepted by both

2051 [?], *Patriarcado de Lisboa*, (Information: Campo de St.ª Clara - Mosteiro de S. Vicente de Fora. Lisboa. <http://www.patriarcado-lisboa.pt/>. Accessed on 30 December, 2013).

2052 Marto, D. António, *O Ecumenismo em Portugal: Portugal sem paixão ecuménica*, Op. cit., p. 43.

2053 Ibid., p. 2.

2054 Original text in Portuguese: “Preparado conjuntamente por Pontifício Conselho para a Promoção da Unidade dos Cristãos e Comissão Fé e Constituição do Conselho Mundial de Igrejas”.

2055 [?], *Subsídios para a Semana de Oração pela Unidade dos Cristãos e para todo o ano*, Op. cit.

2056 Original text in Portuguese: “Que toda a língua confesse: Jesus Cristo é o Senhor (*Filipenses* 2, 1-13). (Encontro preparatório em Genebra, Suíça) ”.

2057 [?], *Subsídios para a Semana de Oração pela Unidade dos Cristãos e para todo o ano*, Op. cit., p. 35.

Portuguese Roman Catholics and Protestants making the Portuguese receptive to the following year celebration of the Week of Prayer for Christian Unity which continues to date.

The above mentioned chosen theme bears testimony to the fact that had it not been for the 1974 Revolution Christian unity between the Portuguese Roman Catholics and other Christian denominations would not have been possible. Apart from the Roman Catholic and other Christian denominations the Orthodox churches are also present in Portugal.

(b) The Orthodox Churches

Another of the consequences of the 1974 Revolution was the establishment in Portugal of the Orthodox type of Christianity. Members of pre-Chalcedonic churches such as the Coptic Orthodox Church, the Armenian Orthodox Church, the Syrian Orthodox Church, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church and the Malankara Orthodox Church from India were established in Portugal. However, according to an article by Filipe d’Avillez entitled *Actualidade Religiosa: Quem São os Coptas?*²⁰⁵⁸ “In Portugal, Coptic Christians of different confessions are only a few”.²⁰⁵⁹ There are other Churches of Orthodox origin established in Portugal such as the Catholic Orthodox Church of Portugal (Igreja Católica Ortodoxa de Portugal),²⁰⁶⁰ the Catholic Apostolic Orthodox Church (Igreja Apostólica Católica Ortodoxa),²⁰⁶¹ and, the Russian Orthodox Church – Diocese of Korsoun, Community of All Saints (Igreja Ortodoxa Russa – Diocese de Korsoun, Comunidade de todos os Santos).²⁰⁶²

The next group of non-Roman Catholic Christian Churches established in Portugal by 2009 are the Protestant, the Evangelical and Pentecostal Churches.

2058 Original text in Portuguese: “Em Portugal os cristãos coptas, de diferentes confissões, contam-se pelos dedos”.

2059 D’Avillez, Filipe, *Actualidade Religiosa: Quem São os Coptas?* (Information: <http://actualidadereligiosa.blogspot.com/>. 13 October, 2011. Accessed on 3 January, 2014).

2060 [?], *Igreja Católica Ortodoxa de Portugal*, (Information: Serviço de Comunicação do Departamento de Relações Exteriores da Igreja Ortodoxa de Portugal. Lisboa. Portugal. <http://www.igrejaortodoxa.pt/>. Accessed on 3 January, 2014).

2061 Monteiro, Reverendo Arcebispo Dom Armando da Costa, *Igreja Apostólica Católica Ortodoxa*, (Information: Lisboa, Portugal, online portal, <http://www.igrejaapostolicacatolicaortodoxa.org/>. Accessed on 3 January, 2014).

2062 Sokolov, Arsénio, *Igreja Ortodoxa Russa – Diocese de Korsoun. Comunidade de todos os Santos*, Op. cit.

(c) The Protestant, Evangelical and Pentecostal Churches

Certain authors have attempted to establish a list of Protestant/Evangelical churches and denominations in Portugal. Santos (2000) grouped these churches (according to their organizational and ecumenical preferences) into three categories of denominations, the first category encompassed Churches of the 'Synod', the second 'Congregational' denominations and lastly Churches and denominations 'non ecumenical', and describes them thus,²⁰⁶³

1) *Churches of the 'synod'* (Presbyterians, Methodists and Lusitanian Episcopalians) ... converged in 1971 into the Portuguese Council of Christian Churches (COPIC), which are integrated in the World Council of Churches and the ecumenical movement; ... 2) *'Congregational' denominations* (Brethren, Congregationalists, Baptists, Pentecostals) converged into the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance (AEP), are integrated in the World Evangelical Alliance and are refractory to the ecumenical movement; ... and, 3) *Churches and denominations 'non ecumenical'* (Adventists, neo-Pentecostals, and 'new Christian movements' as Jehovah's Witnesses... These do not cooperate not even on inter-denominational bodies nor in the ecumenical movement.²⁰⁶⁴

There is another list proposed by an unknown author in an article entitled *Anexo: Lista de denominações protestantes em Portugal*. This list puts the Protestant and Evangelical churches and denominations in two different categories as follows:²⁰⁶⁵ “Historical Protestant groups: Lutherans, Anglicans, Calvinists, Presbyterians, Anabaptists; Methodists, Baptists; Free Churches; [and] Adventists. [The second category are] Pentecostal groups: Pentecostals, neo-Pentecostals”.²⁰⁶⁶

The following is a list of various churches under each of the two above mentioned groups:²⁰⁶⁷

2063 Original text in Portuguese: “1) *Igrejas 'sinodais'* (Presbiterianos, Lusitanos Episcopalianos e Metodistas) ... vêm a convergir em 1971 no Conselho Português de Igrejas Cristãs (COPIC), estão integradas no Conselho Mundial de Igrejas e no movimento ecuménico; ... 2) *Denominações 'congregacionais'* (Irmãos, Congregacionalistas, Baptistas, Pentecostais): vêm a convergir na Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa (AEP), estão integradas na Aliança Evangélica Mundial e são refratárias ao movimento ecuménico; ... e, 3) *Igrejas e denominações 'não ecuménicas'* (Adventistas, Neopentecostais, e ‘novos movimentos cristãos’ como Testemunhas de Jeová... Não cooperam nem em organismos inter-denominacionais nem no movimento ecuménico”.

2064 Santos, Luís Aguiar Santos, *O Protestantismo em Portugal (Séculos XIX e XX): Linhas de Força da Sua História e Historiografia*, Op. cit., p. 48.

2065 Original text in Portuguese: “1) Grupos protestantes históricos: 1.1 Luteranos; 1.2 Anglicanos; 1.3 Calvinistas; 1.4 Presbiterianos; 1.5 Anabatistas; 1.6 Metodistas; 1.7 Batistas; 1.8 Igrejas livres; 1.9 Adventistas. 2) Grupos pentecostais: 2.1 Pentecostais; 2.2 Neopentecostais”.

2066 *Anexo: Lista de denominações protestantes em Portugal*, Op. cit.

2067 Ibid.

1) Historical Protestant group:

Lutherans – Igreja Evangélica Luterana de Portugal, Igreja Luterana de Portugal, and, Igreja Evangélica Alemã;

Anglicans – Igreja Lusitana católica Apostólica Evangélica, Diocese Anglicana na Europa – Sé de Gibraltar em Portugal;

Calvinists – St Andrews Church of Lisbon, Igreja Reformada em Portugal, and, União das Igrejas Evangélicas Congregacionais Portuguesas;

Presbyterians – Igreja Cristã Presbiteriana de Portugal, and, Igreja Evangélica Presbiteriana de Portugal;

Anabaptists – Associação dos Irmãos Menonitas de Portugal;

Methodists – Igreja Evangélica Metodista Portuguesa;

Baptists – Associação das Igrejas Baptistas Portuguesas, Convenção Baptista Portuguesa, Igrejas Baptistas do Carreiro, and, Igrejas Baptistas Independentes;

Free Churches – Assembleia dos Irmãos;

Adventists – Igreja Adventista do Sétimo Dia em Portugal, Igreja Adventista da Reforma em Portugal, Igreja de Deus (Sétimo Dia) em Portugal, with two ramifications: - Igreja Universal de Jesus Cristo, and, Congregação Cristã de Portugal.

2) Pentecostal group:

Pentecostals – Igreja Nova Apostólica, Assembleia de Deus em Portugal, Congregação Cristã em Portugal, Igreja do Evangelho Quadrangular, Igreja Cristã Maranata;

Neo-Pentecostals – Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus, Missão Cristã Pentecostal, Maná Igreja Cristã, Igreja Renascer em Cristo, Igreja Videira Portugal, Igreja Novo Destino, Igreja Internacional da Graça de Deus, and, Comunidade Evangélica Sara Nossa Terra.

Apart from the above mentioned list, the following is another way to group the Protestant and Evangelical denominations according to their affiliations as they relate to or do not relate to ecumenism.

**(d) The Portuguese Council of Christian Churches
(Conselho Português de Igrejas Cristãs –
COPIC)**

The Portuguese Council of Christian Churches (Conselho Português de Igrejas Cristãs – COPIC) was the result of a historical repositioning of some Christian denominations in Portugal, which became affiliated²⁰⁶⁸ to the World Council of Churches. Initially, the denominations involved in establishing the COPIC were founding members of the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance (AEP). However, since the AEP was an organization that represents mainly individual believers, according to Manuel P. Cardoso, Ireneu da S. Cunha, Nelson P. Horta, and, José M. Leite in their article *Uma Caminhada Ecuménica*,²⁰⁶⁹ “We felt the need for the existence in Portugal of a body to serve as the liaison between the Portuguese Churches, to become an instrument of cooperation and fellowship. We had the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance, but this represented only individuals”.²⁰⁷⁰ The initial idea was to establish a Federation of Portuguese Evangelical Churches (Federação de Igrejas Evangélicas Portuguesas).²⁰⁷¹ There was first the Portuguese Inter-Ecclesiastical Commission (Comissão Intereclesiástica Portuguesa – CIP) founded in 1956 by the Presbyterian Portuguese Church, the Portuguese Methodist Church and the Lusitanian Catholic Apostolic Evangelical Church,²⁰⁷²

This Committee ... was already proof that the spirit of cooperation and ecumenical orientation existed in Portugal because it was raised by a Presbyterian suggestion of Michael P. Testa and joined, the Portuguese Methodist Church and the Lusitanian Catholic Apostolic Evangelical Church, except the Presbyterian Church of Portugal. The CIP had constant contacts with the World Council of Churches and has been since its founding in 1956 until being replaced by COPIC, a major instrument of Social Action of the Churches that composed it and a place to deepen the spirit of tolerance and openness that characterizes ecumenism.²⁰⁷³

2068 [?], *Conselho Português de Igrejas Cristãs*, (Information: Igreja Evangélica Metodista Portuguesa. Porto, [Portugal].

<http://www.igreja-metodista.pt/>. Accessed on 21 December, 2013).

2069 Original text in Portuguese: “Sentia-se a necessidade da existência em Portugal de um organismo que servisse como elo de ligação das igrejas portuguesas e que fosse um instrumento de cooperação e companheirismo. Havia já a Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa, mas essa representava apenas indivíduos”.

2070 Cardoso, Manuel P., et al, *Uma Caminhada Ecuménica*, Op. cit.

2071 Cardoso, Manuel P., et al, *Uma Caminhada Ecuménica*, Op. cit.

2072 Original text in Portuguese: “Essa Comissão ... era já a prova de que o espírito de cooperação e orientação ecuménica já existia em Portugal, pois ela fora criada por sugestão do presbiteriano Michael P. Testa e juntou, além da Igreja Presbiteriana de Portugal, a Igreja Metodista Portuguesa e a Igreja Lusitana Católica Apostólica Evangélica. A CIP tinha constantes contactos com o Conselho Mundial de Igrejas e foi, desde a sua fundação em 1956 até ser substituída pelo COPIC, um instrumento importante de ação social das Igrejas que compunham e um lugar de aprofundamento do espírito de tolerância e abertura que caracteriza o ecumenismo”.

2073 Cardoso, Manuel P., et al, *Uma Caminhada Ecuménica*, Op. cit.

On 12 May, 1962 Dr Leopoldo de Figueiredo proposed the creation of the National Council of Churches (Conselho Nacional de Igrejas). There was the need to form²⁰⁷⁴ “... a union of the Synod churches”,²⁰⁷⁵ with some common goals, as Cardoso *et al* suggest,²⁰⁷⁶

A union of the Synod churches... In order that among the different Portuguese Evangelical Churches an ecumenical spirit can develop, so there is accord on the common problems of evangelization and mutual cooperation, and to seize the possibilities of contact of the different ecclesiastical systems and comparative study of their theology at a higher and speculative level, the National Council of Churches is established in Portugal with official representation of the denominations of which is composed.²⁰⁷⁷

On 10 June, 1971²⁰⁷⁸ the Portuguese Council of Christian Churches²⁰⁷⁹ (Conselho Português de Igrejas Cristãs – COPIC) was officially launched and at the same meeting the CIP was made defunct as it had served its purpose.²⁰⁸⁰ The COPIC is affiliated to the World Council of Churches and engages with the ecumenical movement.²⁰⁸¹ Santos labels this group of denominations as²⁰⁸² “Churches of the ‘Synod’”.²⁰⁸³ The denominations that form the COPIC are:²⁰⁸⁴ The Portuguese Presbyterian Church, the Portuguese Evangelical Methodist Church, and, the Lusitanian Catholic Apostolic Evangelical Church.²⁰⁸⁵ There are also two other denominations with the statute of observers to the COPIC:²⁰⁸⁶ The German Evangelical Church (Igreja Evangélica Alemã),²⁰⁸⁷ and The Salvation Army (O Exército de Salvação). The churches affiliated to the COPIC are the first Protestant denominations established in Portugal. Cardoso *et al*

2074 Original text in Portuguese: “... uma união das igrejas sinodais”.

2075 Cardoso, Manuel P., et al, *Uma Caminhada Ecuménica*, Op. cit.

2076 Original text in Portuguese: “... uma união das igrejas sinodais... Afim de que entre as diferentes Igrejas Evangélicas portuguesas possa desenvolver-se um espírito ecuménico, para acordo dos problemas comuns de evangelização e cooperação mútua, e possibilidades de contacto dos diferentes sistemas eclesiásticos e estudo comparado da sua teologia, num nível superior e especulativo, é criado em Portugal o Conselho Nacional de Igrejas, com representação oficial das denominações de que se compõe”.

2077 Cardoso, Manuel P., et al, *Uma Caminhada Ecuménica*, Op. cit.

2078 [?], *Conselho Português de Igrejas Cristãs*, Op. cit.

2079 Original Text in Portuguese: “Conselho Português de Igrejas Cristãs”.

2080 Cardoso, Manuel P., et al, *Uma Caminhada Ecuménica*, Op. cit.

2081 Ibid.

2082 Original text in Portuguese: “Igrejas ‘sinodais’.

2083 Santos, Luís Aguiar Santos, *O Protestantismo em Portugal (Séculos XIX e XX): Linhas de Força da Sua História e Historiografia*, Op. cit., p.48.

2084 Cardoso, Manuel P., et al, *Uma Caminhada Ecuménica*, Op. cit., p. 2.

2085 [?], *Igreja Lusitana Católica, Apostólica e Evangélica*, (Information: R. de S. José, 5. Lisboa [Portugal]. <http://www.igreja-lusitana.org/>. Accessed on 30 December, 2013).

2086 Cardoso, Manuel P., et al, *Uma Caminhada Ecuménica*, Op. cit., p. 5.

2087 [?], *Igreja Evangélica Alemã de Lisboa*, (Information: Avenida Columbano Bordalo Pinheiro, 48. Lisboa. Portugal. www.dekl.org. Accessed on 30 December, 2013).

state that the relationship between the COPIC and the AEP continued being good as²⁰⁸⁸ “There were no manifestations of great hostility from the ‘Evangelical Community’ due to the establishment of the COPIC”.²⁰⁸⁹ The Portuguese Evangelical Alliance (AEP) is another branch representing Christian Churches established in Portugal.

(e) The Portuguese Evangelical Alliance (Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa – AEP)

As a consequence of the 1974 Revolution the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance (AEP)²⁰⁹⁰ underwent an internal transformation in 1975.²⁰⁹¹ The *AEP Statutes* from 1935 were altered to enable, like the sister COPIC, to receive Churches and institutions²⁰⁹² “... as members”.²⁰⁹³ Santos confirms that the AEP was restructured as many churches and denominations “converged”,²⁰⁹⁴ in order to voice their aspirations collectively as spiritual communities through the AEP. The²⁰⁹⁵ “Portuguese Evangelical Alliance”,²⁰⁹⁶ (AEP) founded in 1935²⁰⁹⁷ affiliates four distinct denominations: The Brethren Churches; the Baptist Churches; the Assembly of God Churches; and, the Churches associated with the “Fraternal Association”.²⁰⁹⁸ Santos labels these churches as²⁰⁹⁹ “Congregational Denominations”,²¹⁰⁰ due to their democratic organizational structure.

The AEP denominations adopted a different approach from those of the COPIC denominations; they do not openly engage in the ecumenical movement, nor are they

2088 Original text in Portuguese: “... não houve manifestações de grande hostilidade da parte da ‘Comunidade Evangélica’ ao aparecimento do COPIC”.

2089 Cardoso, Manuel P., et al, *Uma Caminhada Ecuménica*, Op. cit., p. 2.

2090 [?], *Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa*, Op. cit.

2091 Cardoso, Manuel P., et al, *Uma Caminhada Ecuménica*, Op. cit., p. 5.

2092 Original text in Portuguese: “... como membros”.

2093 Cardoso, Manuel P., et al, *Uma Caminhada Ecuménica*, Op. cit.

2094 Santos, Luís Aguiar Santos, *O Protestantismo em Portugal (Séculos XIX e XX): Linhas de Força da Sua História e Historiografia*, Op. Cit, p.48.

2095 Original text in Portuguese: “Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa”.

2096 Da Silva, F. C., *A Study of the Charismatic Movement in Portugal With Particular Reference to the Fraternal Association*, Op. cit., p. 121.

2097 [?], *Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa – Quem Somos*, Op. cit.

2098 Da Silva, F. C., *A Study of the Charismatic Movement in Portugal With Particular Reference to the Fraternal Association*, Op. cit.

2099 Original text in Portuguese: “Denominações ‘congregacionais’”.

2100 Santos, Luís Aguiar Santos, *O Protestantismo em Portugal (Séculos XIX e XX): Linhas de Força da Sua História e Historiografia*, Op. cit.

affiliated to the World Council of Churches. According to Santos,²¹⁰¹ most of these churches “Are of Congregational structure; in 1974 they converged with the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance (AEP), which is integrated in the World Evangelical Alliance, and, these Churches are opposed to the ecumenical movement”.²¹⁰² However, the AEP denominations are engaged in ecumenical discussions for common understanding according to Cardoso *et al*,²¹⁰³

The old relations of friendship and cooperation between the Churches that founded the new Council and the Churches who did not identify with the ecumenical ideology helped to maintain the bridges not only at personal level but even institutional in some cases. Moreover, it is likely that the climate of ‘good neighbours’ has been preserved in many cases by strategic considerations. It was because on the one side of the Churches of anti-ecumenical orientation they had many people college-educated and open-minded who could hardly afford to assume that their pastors openly got retrograde positions and a primary anti-Catholicism, and, on the side of the ‘ecumenical’ (Churches the COPIC), they knew in their own communities that some members continued in the spirit of great opposition to ecumenism.²¹⁰⁴

There are a number of Protestant and Evangelical denominations that are not affiliated to either COPIC or the AEP.

(f) Protestant and Evangelical denominations that are not members of COPIC or the AEP

There are Christian Churches that are not affiliated either to the COPIC or the AEP, according to Cardoso *et al*,²¹⁰⁵ “Not all non-Catholic Christians ... accept being represented either by COPIC or by the AEP”.²¹⁰⁶ Cardoso *et al* explain:²¹⁰⁷

2101 Original text in Portuguese: “São denominações de organização congregacional; vêm a convergir em 1974 na Aliança Evangélica Portuguesa (AEP); estão integradas na Aliança Evangélica Mundial e são refratárias ao movimento ecuménico”.

2102 Santos, Luís Aguiar Santos, *O Protestantismo em Portugal (Séculos XIX e XX): Linhas de Força da Sua História e Historiografia*, Op. cit.

2103 Original text in Portuguese: “As velhas relações de cooperação e amizade entre as Igrejas que fundaram o novo Conselho e as Igrejas que não se identificavam com o ideário ecuménico ajudaram a que fossem mantidas pontes a nível não só pessoal mas até institucional em alguns casos. Além disso, é provável que o clima de “boa vizinhança” tenha sido preservado em muitos casos por considerações estratégicas. É que do lado das Igrejas de orientação anti ecuménica havia muitas pessoas de formação universitária e de mente aberta que dificilmente poderiam suportar que os seus pastores assumissem posições abertamente retrógradas e de um anticatolicismo primário; e do lado dos “ecuménicos” (Igrejas do COPIC), não faltava o conhecimento de que em suas próprias comunidades havia também quem continuasse no espírito de grande oposição ao ecumenismo”.

2104 Cardoso, Manuel P., et al, *Uma Caminhada Ecuménica*, Op. cit., p. 2.

2105 Original text in Portuguese: “Nem todos os cristãos não católicos, é necessário dizê-lo, se aceitam representados quer pelo COPIC quer pela AEP”.

2106 Cardoso, Manuel P., et al, *Uma Caminhada Ecuménica*, Op. cit.

2107 Original text in Portuguese: “Nem todos os cristãos não católicos, é necessário dizê-lo, se aceitam representados quer pelo COPIC quer pela AEP. Já não nos referimos a essas pessoas ou grupos que, pelas suas doutrinas ou práticas não podem ser aceites, mesmo que o queiram, como membros destas organizações. Mas falamos de cristãos e de Igrejas de correntes tradicionalmente

We are not referring to those persons or groups who, through their doctrines or practices cannot be accepted, even if they want to, as members of these organizations. But we talk about Christians and Churches of denominations traditionally recognized as a legitimate part of Christianity, but, by opposing the ecumenical movement, they do not ask for their adherence to COPIC and, for other reasons do not to ask to become members of the AEP.²¹⁰⁸

The following is an example of churches not affiliated to the AEP, according to information supplied by the AEP office,

Emaús – Comunidade Evangélica de Estudantes; Igreja Adventista do Sétimo Dia; Igreja Cristã Portuguesa dos Adventistas do 7.º Dia - Movimento de Reforma; Church of Scotland; Igreja da Vitória; Igreja Evangélica Presbiteriana de Cristo; Igreja Cristã de Lisboa; Igreja Evangélica Pentecostal; Liga Evangélica Missionária; Assembleia de Deus Pentecostal; Igreja Evangélica Chelense; Igreja Protestante Inglesa St. Georges; and, Congregação Cristã em Portugal.²¹⁰⁹

In addition, there are other Christian denominations which are not members of the COPIC or the AEP organizations that are categorised separately as²¹¹⁰ “Neo-Pentecostals”.²¹¹¹

**(g) Neo-Pentecostal denominations associated with
the Federation of Portuguese Evangelical
Churches (Federação de Igrejas Evangélicas
Portuguesas)**

Santos describes the neo-Pentecostals as follows,²¹¹² “[These] new movements ... have a very centralized organization dedicated to evangelization; they do not cooperate with inter-denominational bodies nor with the ecumenical movement”.²¹¹³ The two major neo-Pentecostal denominations established in Portugal are affiliated to the Federation of Portuguese Evangelical Churches (Federação de Igrejas Evangélicas Portuguesas).²¹¹⁴ These are the Manna Christian Church (Maná Igreja Cristã) founded by Apostle Jorge

reconhecidas como parte do Cristianismo legítimo, mas que, por se oporem ao movimento ecuménico, não pedem a sua adesão ao COPIC, e por outras razões não a pedem à AEP”.

2108 Cardoso, Manuel P., et al, *Uma Caminhada Ecuménica*, Op. cit.

2109 Olga, Bastos, *Lista de Igrejas que Não São Membros da AEP*, Op. cit.

2110 Original text in Portuguese: “Neopentecostais”.

2111 Santos, Luís Aguiar Santos, *O Protestantismo em Portugal (Séculos XIX e XX): Linhas de Força da Sua História e Historiografia*, Op. cit.

2112 Original text in Portuguese: “[Estes] novos movimentos ... têm uma organização centralizada e muito vocacionada para a evangelização; não cooperam nem em organismos inter-denominacionais nem no movimento ecuménico”.

2113 Santos, Luís Aguiar Santos, *O Protestantismo em Portugal (Séculos XIX e XX): Linhas de Força da Sua História e Historiografia*, Op. cit.

2114 [?], *Federação de Igrejas Evangélicas Portuguesas*, (Av. Conselheiro Barjonas de Freitas, 9-B, Lisboa. [Portugal]. <http://www.portugalia.com/>. Accessed on 31 December, 2013).

Tadeu in 1984,²¹¹⁵ and the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God – UCKG (Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus – IURD),²¹¹⁶ established in Portugal in 1989.²¹¹⁷ Both churches are organized as Episcopalian and the rapid and exponential growth of these neo-Pentecostal denominations are worth mentioning as Paul Freston did in *A Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus na Europa*,²¹¹⁸

The process by which the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God (UCKG) has expanded by several dozen countries, including Portugal and England, is an important chapter of a major religious transformation of the late twentieth century: the transformation of Pentecostalism into a global religion, and the shift from the centre, not only numerical but also international expansionist impulse to distant regions of the historic centres of Protestantism.²¹¹⁹

In addition there are yet other Christian denominations that should be mentioned.

(h) Other Christian denominations in Portugal

The Portuguese Seventh Day Adventist Church²¹²⁰ is considered by Protestants and Evangelicals as different due to their insistence on observing the Sabbath on a Saturday instead of a Sunday, which all other Christian Churches observe as a day of rest, the ‘Day of the Lord’. The relationship of the Adventist Church with the Protestants and Evangelicals and vice-versa is by maintaining a certain distance, but, with mutual respect. Another Christian denomination is the Portuguese Remar Association (Associação Remar Portugal) with its specific ministry for marginalized citizens and ecclesiastical ministry as well.²¹²¹ Apart from the above mentioned denominations there are denominations referred to as Para-Christian denominations.

2115 Avanzini, John, *Biografia do Presidente e Fundador*, Op. cit.

2116 [?], *Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus - Portugal*, (Information: Bishop Júlio Freitas. Sede Internacional para a Europa. Lisboa. [Portugal]. <http://iurd.pt>. Accessed on 24 January, 2014).

2117 Roberto, Bispo Paulo, *História da IURD [Portugal], Estrada da Luz – O início de uma jornada*, (Information: IURD.PT. Centro de Ajuda. Sede Internacional para a Europa. Lisboa. [Portugal]. <http://iurd.pt/>. Accessed on 24 January, 2014).

2118 Original text in Portuguese: “O processo pelo qual a Igreja universal do reino de Deus (IURD) tem-se expandido por várias dezenas de países, inclusive Portugal e Inglaterra, é um capítulo importante de uma das principais transformações religiosas do final do século XX: a transformação do pentecostalismo em religião global e a mudança do centro, não só numérico mas também do impulso expansionista internacional, para regiões distantes dos centros históricos do protestantismo”.

2119 Freston, Paul, *A Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus na Europa*, (Article: Lusotopie 1999, International Political Research on Spaces Stemming from Portuguese Colonization and History. www.lusotopie.sciencespobordeaux.fr/. Accessed on 24 January, 2014).

2120 *Igreja Adventista do Sétimo Dia*, (Information: União Portuguesa dos Adventistas do Sétimo Dia. Lisboa. Portugal. <http://www.adventistas.org.pt/>. Accessed on 10 January, 2014).

2121 [?], *Associação Remar Portugal*, Op. cit.

(i) Para-Christian denominations in Portugal

There are other religious organizations claiming to be Christian, which are not accepted as such by the general Christian community. Within this category is: the First Church of Christ the Scientist (Primeira Igreja de Cristo Cientista);²¹²² the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Days Saints (Igreja de Jesus Cristo dos Santos dos Últimos Dias – Mórmones);²¹²³ the Jehovah Witnesses Association (Associação das Testemunhas de Jeová);²¹²⁴ and the New Apostolic Church (Igreja Nova Apostólica).²¹²⁵ Some of these Para-Christians despite being present in Portugal for a number of years did not gain recognition until after the 1974 Revolution. Apart from Christian denominations and the Para-Christians the Jewish religion is present in Portugal.

5.5.2 THE JEWISH COMMUNITIES

Large communities of Jews settled in the Lusitanian region from as early as the Roman Empire. When Portugal became independent in 1143 this minority was already found in important places such as “Santarém”,²¹²⁶ according to the article *História Judaica*. The first Jewish community to be discussed is the Lisbon Jewish Community.

(a) The Lisbon Jewish Community

The Jewish community based in Lisbon is called Comunidade Israelita de Lisboa. Most of these Jews arrived in the early nineteenth century from Gibraltar and Morocco, but some still bore their Portuguese surnames as their ancestors had been expelled from Portuguese territories because they had not converted to Roman Catholicism. Since public cemeteries were reserved for Roman Catholics, the first Jew to die in Lisbon on 26 February, 1804 – José Amzalak – had to be buried in a piece of ground belonging to²¹²⁷ “The English Cemetery at Estrela [in Lisbon]”,²¹²⁸ according to an article by Esther

2122 [?], *Primeira Igreja de Cristo Cientista*, Op. cit.

2123 [?], *Igreja de Jesus Cristo dos Santos dos Últimos Dias (Mórmones)*, (Information: <http://www.lds.org/>. Accessed on 4 January, 2014).

2124 [?], *Associação das Testemunhas de Jeová*, Ibid.

2125 Luiz, Manuel, Ed., *Igreja Nova Apostólica - Portugal*, Op. cit.

2126 [?], *História Judaica*, Op. cit.

2127 Original text in Portuguese: “Cemitério Inglês da Estrela [em Lisboa]”.

2128 Mucznik, Esther, *Comunidade Israelita de Lisboa*, Op. cit.

Mucznik *Comunidade Israelita de Lisboa*. The Lisbon Jewish Community developed some important organizations such as:²¹²⁹

Support of the Poor (Somej-Nophlim), established in 1865 by Simon Anahory ... in 1916 this association paved the way for the [first] Jewish Hospital ..., [and the] Guemilut Hassadim, founded in 1892 by Moses Anahory to administer spiritual aid and to deal with Jewish burials.²¹³⁰

The construction of the Lisbon Synagogue (Shaaré Tikvá) began in 1902 and was dedicated in 1904 by the Jews in Lisbon, which is situated in Rua Alexandre Herculano 59. Mucznik states that the Synagogue²¹³¹ “Had to be built within a walled yard, because the Jews were not permitted to build the temple facing a public road since it was not of the [Roman] Catholic religion”.²¹³² In 1868 King Dom Luís had granted a license²¹³³ for the Jewish community to establish a cemetery in Lisbon, recognizing that the burial of the Jews was a problem. It was the beginning of a process for official recognition in 1912 by the Republican Government.²¹³⁴ As a direct impact of the 25 April, 1974 *coup d'état* on the Jewish Community, Mucznik states:²¹³⁵

The political opening of the post-revolution of April and the opening of the borders, with the entry of Portugal into the European Union has taken into our country many Jewish citizens from different countries, of Europe and Brazil. This coming up to speed, can give a new configuration to the Jewish community in Portugal.²¹³⁶

Another Jewish community hails from Porto.

(b) The Porto Jewish Community

The Porto Jewish Community erected the largest synagogue – Kadoorie Mekor Haim (Fonte de Vida) – of the Iberian Peninsula.²¹³⁷ The Porto Israeli Community (Comunidade Israelita do Porto) was registered in 1923 in the Civil Government of Porto in a process led by Captain Artur Barros Basto a Portuguese who had converted to

2129 Original text in Portuguese: “Somej-Nophlim (Amparo dos Pobres), criada em 1865 por Simão Anahory ... em 1916, esta associação abrirá o Hospital Israelita ...; [e a] Guemilut Hassadim, fundada em 1892 por Moses Anahory para ministrar os socorros espirituais e tratar dos enterros judaicos”.

2130 Mucznik, Esther, *Comunidade Israelita de Lisboa*, Op. cit.

2131 Original text in Portuguese: “... teve de ser construída dentro de um quintal muralhado, dado que não era permitida a construção com fachada para a via pública de um templo que não fosse de religião católica, então religião oficial do estado”.

2132 Mucznik, Esther, *Comunidade Israelita de Lisboa*, Op. cit.

2133 Ibid.

2134 Ibid.

2135 Original text in Portuguese: “A abertura política do pós-revolução de Abril e das fronteiras, com a entrada de Portugal na União Europeia, tem feito chegar ao nosso país cidadãos judeus originários de diversos países, da Europa e do Brasil. Esta vinda, a acelerar-se, poderá dar uma nova configuração à comunidade judaica em Portugal”.

2136 Mucznik, Esther, *Comunidade Israelita de Lisboa*, Op. cit.

2137 *Sinagoga Kadoorie Mekor Haim*. Op. cit.

Judaism.²¹³⁸ The fact that this synagogue has its façade facing the street demonstrates that the Porto authorities of the First Republic accepted religious pluralism as early as the 1920s. The Belmonte Jewish Community another Jewish Community and is discussed below.

(c) The Belmonte Jewish Community

According to an article entitled *Comunidade Judaica de Belmonte*, the Jewish community of Belmonte is described as follows:²¹³⁹ “It is the only legitimate peninsular community heir of the ancient historical presence of the Sephardic Jews”.²¹⁴⁰ This community was able to preserve most of its rites, prayers and social relations even under the Inquisition pressure that tried to dilute the community within the Roman Catholic Portuguese society. *Comunidade Judaica de Belmonte* states:²¹⁴¹ “Many of [the Jews] from Belmonte [were forced to become] New²¹⁴² Christians but they continued to marry among themselves for centuries”.²¹⁴³ Only in 1989 was this Jewish community recognized officially as the Belmonte Jewish Community (*Comunidade Judaica de Belmonte*) and in 1996 its Synagogue Beit Eliahu (Son of Elijah / Filho de Elias) was inaugurated. This temple was built in the old Jewish neighbourhood of the town where there is also a “Jewish Cemetery (fortune Azoulay) that was opened in 2001”.²¹⁴⁴ For centuries this community was not recognized. It took the 1974 Revolution to change the mind-set of the Portuguese authorities that led to the recognition of the Belmonte Jewish Community. Apart from the Jewish communities there are also Muslim communities settled in Portugal.

2138 [?], *A sinagoga e a Comunidade Judaica do Porto*, Op. cit.

2139 Original text in Portuguese: “É a única comunidade peninsular herdeira legítima da antiga presença histórica dos judeus sefarditas”.

2140 [?], *Comunidade Judaica de Belmonte*, Op. cit.

2141 Original text in Portuguese: “muitos dos belmontenses cristãos-novos continuaram a casar-se apenas entre si durante séculos”.

2142 “New Christians” was the name attributed to the Jews and Muslims forced by the Portuguese authorities to convert from Judaism or Islam to Roman Catholicism.

2143 [?], *Comunidade Judaica de Belmonte*, Op. cit.

2144 Ibid.

5.5.3 THE PORTUGUESE MUSLIM COMMUNITIES

The formation of Portugal was marked by constant wars against the Moors, according to an article by António Gasparetto Junior entitled *Reconquista da Península Ibérica*,²¹⁴⁵ “‘*Reconquista*’ is the name given to the process of recovery by Christians of the Iberian Peninsula, which stood for centuries under Muslim occupation”.²¹⁴⁶ From the Algarve up to the Mondego River the territory was under Muslim control as stated in an article *A Formação de Portugal*.²¹⁴⁷ In another article entitled *Cultura e História*,²¹⁴⁸ “The Arab presence lasted more than four centuries (714-1247) in Portuguese territory. This Arab/Islamic presence profoundly marked our culture, our history and our language, about 1200 words [in Portuguese] originate from Arabic”.²¹⁴⁹ As from 1264 AD the entire Portuguese territory was definitively under Christian control including the “Algarve”,²¹⁵⁰ which was a Muslim region according to the article *Cristãos e Muçulmanos em Portugal*,²¹⁵¹

The permanence and peaceful coexistence between Christians and Moors in the Portuguese territory ends abruptly with the reign of King Manuel, when under religious pretext in 1496, the Moors were forced to choose between baptism and expulsion [New Christians].²¹⁵²

With regard to the above quotation a certain number of Muslims converted to Roman Catholicism while others fled the country and Islam was not practiced in Portugal until mid twentieth century. Fifteen Muslim people settled in Portugal in the late 1950’s and others at the beginning of 1960’s. In an article entitled *Comunidade Muçulmana em Portugal Está Cada Vez Mais Diversificada*, Alexandra Prado Coelho states,²¹⁵³ “The first Muslims to arrive in Portugal were university students coming from Mozambique

2145 Original text in Portuguese: “Reconquista é o nome dado para o processo de retomada por parte dos cristãos da Península Ibérica, que ficou por séculos sob ocupação muçulmana”.

2146 Junior, Antonio Gasparetto, *Reconquista da Península Ibérica*, Op. cit.

2147 [?], *A Formação de Portugal*, Op. cit.

2148 Original text in Portuguese: “A presença árabe durou mais de 4 séculos (714-1247) no agora território português. Esta presença árabe/islâmica marcou profundamente a nossa cultura, a nossa história e a nossa língua, existindo mais de 1200 palavras com origem árabe”.

2149 Munir, Sheikh David, *Cultura e História*, Op. cit.

2150 [?], *A Formação de Portugal*, Op. cit.

2151 Original text in Portuguese: “A permanência e convivência pacífica entre mouros e cristãos no território português acaba abruptamente no reinado de D. Manuel, quando, sob o pretexto religioso, em 1496, os mouros são obrigados a escolher entre a expulsão e o batismo”.

2152 *Cristãos e Muçulmanos em Portugal*, (Article in: Infopédia, Porto: Enciclopédia e Dicionários Porto Editora, 2003-2014. <http://www.infopedia.pt/>. Sv optics. Accessed on 6 January, 2014).

2153 Original text in Portuguese: “... os primeiros muçulmanos a chegar a Portugal eram estudantes universitários, vindos de Moçambique, da comunidade de origem indiana”.

from a community of Indian origin”.²¹⁵⁴ According to Nina Clara Tiesler in *Muçulmanos na Margem: A Nova Presença Islâmica em Portugal*, in “1996”²¹⁵⁵ there were about thirty thousand Muslims in Portugal,²¹⁵⁶ “0.3% of the population”.²¹⁵⁷ The official online portal of the Lisbon Muslim Community (Comunidade Islâmica de Lisboa) informs that the Islamic population in the country is now about²¹⁵⁸ “40.000 people”.²¹⁵⁹ The following are Islamic groups found in Portugal:

**(a) The Sunni Muslim: Islamic Community of
Lisbon (Comunidade Islâmica de Lisboa)**

The Islamic Community of Lisbon (Comunidade Islâmica de Lisboa – CIL)²¹⁶⁰ was formally established in Portugal during the Estado Novo in “1968”,²¹⁶¹ according to an article entitled “*Bangla masjid*”: *Islão e bengalidade entre os bangladeshianos em Lisboa* written by José Mapril. Tiesler states,²¹⁶²

Unlike what happened in other European countries, [Muslim] community leaders in Portugal – namely Valy Mamede, already deceased, and his successor as today’s president of CIL [²¹⁶³], Magid Abdool Karim Vakil – are public and influential figures.²¹⁶⁴

The Sunni Muslims are the larger group in Portugal, with a modern and elaborate mosque built recently in Lisbon. According to the online portal of the Islamic Community of Lisbon,²¹⁶⁵ its Central Mosque is in Lisbon, with twenty one other places of worship (not mosques) within the Greater Lisbon Area as well as in other cities such as: Palmela; Coimbra; Leiria; Viseu; Porto; Braga; Póvoa de Varzim; Évora; Beja; Albufeira; Armação de Pêra; Faro; Portimão; Quarteira; Monte Choro; Olhão; Funchal;

2154 Coelho, Alexandra Prado, *Comunidade Muçulmana em Portugal Está Cada Vez Mais Diversificada*, Op. cit.

2155 Tiesler, Nina Clara, *Muçulmanos na Margem: A Nova Presença Islâmica em Portugal*, (Article: Departamento de Estudos de Religiões e do Instituto de Sociologia da Universidade de Hannover. <http://www.scielo.oces.mctes.pt/>. Accessed on 6 January, 2014), p. 3.

2156 Original text in Portuguese: “ao total da população ... no máximo 0.3%”.

2157 Tiesler, Nina Clara, *Muçulmanos na Margem: A Nova Presença Islâmica em Portugal*, Op. cit.

2158 Original text in Portuguese: “40.000 pessoas”.

2159 Munir, Sheikh David, *Comunidade Islâmica em Portugal*, (Information: Comunidade Islâmica de Lisboa, Lisboa. Portugal. <http://www.comunidadeislamica.pt/>. Accessed on 6 January, 2014).

2160 Munir, Sheikh David, *Comunidade Islâmica de Lisboa (1968)*, Op. cit.

2161 Mapril, José, “*Bangla masjid*”: *Islão e bengalidade entre os bangladeshianos em Lisboa*, Op. cit., p. 853.

2162 Original text in Portuguese: “Ao contrário do que aconteceu noutros países europeus, em Portugal os líderes da comunidade [muçulmana] - nomeadamente Valy Mamede, já falecido, e o seu sucessor hoje na presidência da CIL, Abdool Magid Karim Vakil – são figuras públicas e influentes.”

2163 Explanation: “CIL” stands for Comunidade Islâmica de Lisboa.

2164 Coelho, Alexandra Prado, *Comunidade Muçulmana em Portugal Está Cada Vez Mais Diversificada*, Op. cit.

2165 Munir, Sheikh David, *Comunidade Islâmica de Lisboa: Contactos*, Op. cit.

and, Ponta Delgada. The above mentioned areas provide evidence of the spread of Islamic communities across the entire Portuguese territory. Another Islamic group is the Shiite Muslims discussed below.

(b) The Shiites Muslim Community (Comunidade Muçulmana Shiita)

The Shiite Muslim community is a minority, compared to the Sunni. According to the article *Shiitas e Sunita – Mera Curiosidade* written by Tayeb,²¹⁶⁶ “Shiite means partisan, the movement that supported Ali, son in law of the prophet and husband of Fatima, was named Shii-Ali. Everything has to do with who was entitled to be the caliph”.²¹⁶⁷ The article written by Eduardo Teixeira Gomes – *O Governo Islâmico em Khomeini: perspectivas e paradigmas xiitas* – explains the Shiite tendency for being fundamentalist. Gomes states,²¹⁶⁸ “There are fundamentalists in Judaism, Christianity, Hinduism, Buddhism and even Confucianism”.²¹⁶⁹ In the case of the Shiites,²¹⁷⁰ “The Shiite fundamentalist know that only with an Islamic Government will their faith be complete, therefore all forms of secular Government are obstacles to its expression of the sacred”.²¹⁷¹ Gomes argues:²¹⁷²

The Shiite universalism finds resonance in Shiite minorities worldwide. The Iranian Shiite revolution was a ransom for Islamic dignity. A statement of the right to be modern in formats other than the West. The political and religious views of political paradigms guided Khomeini in Iran and urged the expectations of Shiite minority groups across the planet by setting a universal political system.²¹⁷³

2166 Original text in Portuguese: “Shii significa partidário. O movimento que apoiava Ali, o genro do profeta e marido de Fátima, chamava-se Shii-Ali. Tudo tem a ver com quem tinha legitimidade para ser o Califa”.

2167 Tayeb, *Shiitas e Sunita – Mera Curiosidade*, (Information: Comunidade Islâmica da Web. Março de 2008. <http://www.myciw.org/>. Accessed on 9 January, 2014), p. 1.

2168 Original text in Portuguese: “há fundamentalismos no judaísmo, no cristianismo, no hinduísmo, no budismo e até no confucionismo”.

2169 Gomes, Eduardo Teixeira, *O Governo Islâmico em Khomeini: perspectivas e paradigmas xiitas*, (Article: Revista Ethnic. Publicação do Instituto Ethnic – Instituto de Pesquisas e Estudos Interculturais. Organização Transcultural Etnia. Faculdade Etnia. Faculdades Integradas Interétnicas. Nº 12, Ano 06, Dezembro de 2009. <http://199.201.89.10/>. Accessed on 9 January, 2014), p. 12.

2170 Original text in Portuguese: “O xiita, fundamentalista, sabe que apenas no governo islâmico sua fé será plena, logo, todas formas de governo laicas são obstáculos a sua expressão do sagrado”.

2171 Gomes, Eduardo Teixeira, *O Governo Islâmico em Khomeini: perspectivas e paradigmas xiitas*, Op. cit., p. 13.

2172 Original text in Portuguese: “O universalismo xiita encontra ressonância nas minorias xiitas pelo mundo. A revolução xiita iraniana foi para muitos um resgate da dignidade islâmica. Uma afirmação do direito de ser moderno em outros formatos que não o ocidental. A visão política e religiosa de Khomeini norteia paradigmas políticos no Irã e incita expectativas nos grupos minoritários xiitas em todo o planeta através da configuração de um sistema político universalista”.

2173 Gomes, Eduardo Teixeira, *O Governo Islâmico em Khomeini: perspectivas e paradigmas xiitas*, Op. cit., pp. 14-15.

In the article *Sunitas e Xiitas*²¹⁷⁴ “The Sunnies are more concerned with the inner life and the Shiites with outer”.²¹⁷⁵ The author of *Sunitas e Xiitas* argues that²¹⁷⁶

The Sunni and Shia Islam reflect the diversity of Muslim responses to the divine revelations. The Sunnis were more concerned with creating and preserving structures of society in which the community can fulfil their responsibilities before God. Shiites began the martyrdom of Ali and his son Hussein and were always aware of the suffering and alienation that are part of the human condition and seek answers to a more exoteric interpretation of the Koran and the Shari’a.²¹⁷⁷

António Ali Silva states in *Muçulmanos guineenses que praticam o islão segundo as regras xiitas preocupam chefes religiosos* that,²¹⁷⁸ “The growing number of Muslims from Guinea-Bissau who practice Islam according to the rules of the Shiites is worrying the religious leaders, who see potential sources of conflict in this situation”.²¹⁷⁹ Infali Coté is a Sunni Islamic cleric in Guinea-Bissau. According to him,²¹⁸⁰

The Eastern part of Guinea-Bissau, especially the Gabu region, which borders on the Senegal and Guinea, is the site of highest concentration of practitioners of Shiite Muslim religion in the country. “In any society in which they (Shiites) are, that society is marked by instability, because they use violence to expand their belief”, said the cleric.²¹⁸¹

The proximity and the constant links between Guinea-Bissau and Portugal open the way for the Shiite Muslims to settle in Europe via Portugal. Momade Bay is a Sunni Muslim living in Mozambique who confirmed (*Interview 17*, See Interviews Conducted) that²¹⁸² “The ... Sunni, the Shiites and the Ishmaelite are present in Portugal”.²¹⁸³

2174 Original text in Portuguese: “Os sunitas preocupam-se mais com a vida interior e os xiitas com a exterior”.

2175 [?], *Sunitas e Xiitas*, (Information: Tovi. 1 de Setembro de 2013. <http://tovi.blogs.sapo.pt/>. Accessed on 10 January, 2014).

2176 Original text in Portuguese: “O islamismo sunita e xiita refletem a diversidade das respostas muçulmanas às revelações divinas. Os sunitas mostram-se mais preocupados em criar e preservar estruturas de sociedade em que a comunidade possa cumprir as suas responsabilidades perante Deus. Os xiitas começaram pelo martírio de Ali e do seu filho Hussein e sempre estiveram conscientes do sofrimento e da alienação que fazem parte da condição humana e procuram respostas para uma mais exotérica interpretação do Corão e da Sharia”.

2177 [?], *Sunitas e Xiitas*, Op. cit.

2178 Original text in Portuguese: “O crescente número de fiéis muçulmanos da Guiné-Bissau que praticam o islão segundo as regras dos xiitas está a preocupar os chefes religiosos, que veem possíveis focos de conflito nesta situação”.

2179 Silva, António Ali, *Muçulmanos guineenses que praticam o islão segundo as regras xiitas preocupam chefes religiosos*, (Information: Ditadura do Consenso – Blogspot. Bissau. Guinea-Bissau. <http://ditaduradocenso.blogspot.com/>. Accessed on 10 January, 2014).

2180 Original text in Portuguese: “Segundo, Infali Coté, a zona leste da Guiné-Bissau, sobretudo a região de Gabú, que faz fronteiras com o Senegal e Guiné-Conacri, é o local de maior concentração no país dos praticantes do xiismo. “Em qualquer sociedade em que estão (os xiitas) essa sociedade é marcada pela instabilidade, porque usam da violência para expandir a sua crença”, disse o clérigo”.

2181 Silva, António Ali, *Muçulmanos guineenses que praticam o islão segundo as regras xiitas preocupam chefes religiosos*, Op. cit.

2182 Original text in Portugal: “As correntes ... Sunitas, Xiitas e Ismaelitas ... estão presentes em Portugal... Essas são as fundamentais”.

2183 Da Silva, Fernando Caldeira, *Interview 17 – with Mr. Momade Bay*, (Conducted via email received on the 8 January, 2014), p. 1.

(c) The Ishmaelite Cultural Centre (Centro Cultural Ismaelita)

The origin of the Ishmaelite Muslims is interrelated to the²¹⁸⁴ “Imamat Ismaili ... [and the] Aga Khan Foundation”,²¹⁸⁵ according to the article *Ismaelitas abrem ‘embaixada’ em Lisboa*, written by Helena Tecedeiro,²¹⁸⁶

After Canada, Portugal has now become the second country to receive a delegation of the Ismaili Imamat. To Nazim Ahmad, the choice is obvious, after all 'the link between the Aga Khan Foundation and the Portuguese State has been privileged over the past 30 years, "as he explained to DN President of Network Aga Khan Development ... Prince Karim al-Hussayin ... is the spiritual leader of the Shiite Muslim community branch, which in Portugal is made up of about eight thousand people.²¹⁸⁷

As a consequence of the 1974 Revolution the Portuguese society is now open to diversity and an example is that in 2012 Portuguese students from public schools in Lisbon visited the Lisbon Ismaelite Cultural Centre (Centro Cultural Ismaelita de Lisboa)²¹⁸⁸ as well as the Lisbon Synagogue (Sinagoga de Lisboa).²¹⁸⁹ The Bengali Muslim Community is yet another Islamic group that has settled in Portugal.

(d) The Bengali Muslim Community (Comunidade Muçulmana Bengali)

The Bengali Muslim Community is from Bangladesh and is Sunni, but because of their national identity they formed a separate entity from that of the Lisbon Islamic Community, which is more transnational. This factor has been argued by Mapril in “*Bangla masjid*”: *Islão e bengalidade entre os bangladeshianos em Lisboa*. According to Mapril one of the main facets of the multiplicity of Muslim backgrounds and national origins is that of the²¹⁹⁰ “... immigrants from Bangladesh”.²¹⁹¹ Mapril explains,²¹⁹² “The

2184 Original text in Portuguese: “Imamat Ismaili ... Fundação Aga Khan”.

2185 Tecedeiro, Helena, *Ismaelitas abrem ‘embaixada’ em Lisboa*, (News report: DN Portugal. Diário de Notícias. Controlinvest. Lisboa. [Portugal]. 24 September, 2009. <http://www.dn.pt/>. Accessed on 10 January, 2014), p. 1.

2186 Original text in Portuguese: “Depois do Canadá, Portugal torna-se hoje no segundo país a receber uma delegação do Imamat Ismaili. Para Nazim Ahmad, a escolha é óbvia, afinal ‘a ligação entre a Fundação Aga Khan e o Estado português tem sido privilegiada nos últimos 30 anos’, como explicou ao DN o presidente da Rede Aga Khan para o Desenvolvimento... O príncipe Karim al-Hussayin ... é o 49º líder espiritual desta comunidade muçulmana no ramo xiita, que em Portugal é constituída por cerca de oito mil pessoas”.

2187 Tecedeiro, Helena, *Ismaelitas abrem ‘embaixada’ em Lisboa*, Op. cit., p. 1.

2188 Centro Cultural Ismaelita, (Information: R. Agostinho Lourenço, 22-C Lisboa. Portugal).

2189 Sinagoga de Lisboa “*Shaaré Tikva*” (*Portas da Esperança*). (Information: Av. Alexandre Herculano, 59, Lisboa. [Portugal]).

2190 Original text in Portuguese: “... os imigrantes do Bangladesh”.

2191 Mapril, José, “*Bangla masjid*”: *Islão e bengalidade entre os bangladeshianos em Lisboa*, Op. cit., p. 853.

immigrants from Bangladesh are one of the faces of this growing diversification of the Sunni Muslim population in Portugal”.²¹⁹³ In addition there are other religions in Portugal as a consequence of the general freedom of religion, which is as a result of the 1974 Revolution.

5.5.4 OTHER RELIGIONS AND PHILOSOPHIES IN PORTUGAL

There are fundamentally two types of religion: Monotheistic (believing in One God) and Polytheistic (believing in various gods) as stated by Cátia Carreto in article *Novas Religiões em Portugal*²¹⁹⁴ where she states,²¹⁹⁵ “Within the monotheistic religion we find Christianity, Judaism, Islam, the Bahá’í Faith, and Spiritualism. Buddhism, Hinduism and Confucianism”²¹⁹⁶ are polytheistic religions.

(a) The Bahá’í Faith Community (Comunidade da Fé Bahá’í)

The life of Bahá’u’lláh (1817-1892), during the nineteenth century was associated with events presumably involving a new revelation from God, as stated in an article *The Life of Bahá’u’lláh: A photographic narrative*.²¹⁹⁷ According to the online portal of the Bahá’í Faith,

Throughout history, God has revealed Himself to humanity through a series of divine Messengers, each of whom has founded a great religion. The Messengers have included Abraham, Krishna, Zoroaster, Moses, Buddha, Jesus and Mohamed. The latest of these Messengers is Bahá’u’lláh, who brings new spiritual and social teaching for our modern age. He taught that there is only one God, which all of the world’s religions are from God, and that now is the time for humanity to recognize its oneness and unity.²¹⁹⁸

A monotheistic religion, according to the article entitled *Religiões Existentes em Portugal* the Bahá’í Faith (Fé Bahá’í) was introduced in Portugal in “1926”, starting to

2192 Original text in Portuguese: “Os imigrantes do Bangladesh contituem uma das faces desta crescente diversificação das populações muçulmanas sunitas em Portugal”.

2193 Mapril, José, “*Bangla masjid*”: *Islão e bengalidade entre os bangladeshianos em Lisboa*, Op. cit.

2194 Carreto, Cátia, *Novas Religiões em Portugal*, (Article: Faculdade de Economia Universidade de Coimbra (FEUC), Coimbra, Portugal. Dezembro de 2010. <http://www4.fe.uc.pt/>. Accessed on 10 January, 2014), p. 5.

2195 Original text in Portuguese: “Dentro da religião monoteísta encontramos o Cristianismo, o Judaísmo, o Islamismo, a Fé Bahá’í, e o Espiritismo. Na religião politeísta destacam-se o Budismo, o Hinduísmo e o Confucionismo”.

2196 Carreto, Cátia, *Novas Religiões em Portugal*, Op. cit., p. 5.

2197 [?], *The Life of Bahá’u’lláh: A photographic narrative*, (Information: The Bahá’í Faith. Bahá’í International Community, online portal, <http://www.bahauallah.org/>. Accessed on 10 January, 2014).

2198 Ibid.

establish its institutions in “1949” and²¹⁹⁹ “In 1962 was elected the National Spiritual Assembly of the Baha’i of Portugal”.²²⁰⁰ According to the article,²²⁰¹

Before the 25th April Revolution, the Baha’is has been subject to police surveillance, with many of its activities prohibited. In 1975 the Bahá’í Community of Portugal was recognized as a religious collective entity, and in 2005 it was granted the status of a settled religious community.²²⁰²

Despite their presence in Portugal since 1926, they were only recognised as a religious body in 1975, which demonstrates the impact of the 1974 Revolution on religious freedom in Portugal and the consequent religious proliferation. The Hindu Community was established in Portugal.

(b) The Hindu Community in Portugal (Comunidade Hindu em Portugal)

The Portuguese Hindu Community (Comunidade Hindu de Portugal) settled in Portugal after the 1974 *coup d’état*. In *Comunidade Hindu de Portugal: Historial* Jay Shree Krishna states,²²⁰³

The Hindu Community was developed in Portugal since 1975, as a result of decolonization of Mozambique, encompassing approximately 9,000 members, and about 800 effective partners, residents in the metropolitan areas of Lisbon and Porto, mostly coming from Mozambique and some from the State of Gujarat belonging to the Portuguese India.²²⁰⁴

The official establishment of the Portuguese Hindu Community was on 14 January, 1982.²²⁰⁵ Over and above the monotheistic and polytheistic religions the Buddhists are also present in Portugal.

2199 Original text in Portuguese: “... em 1962 foi eleita a Assembleia Espiritual Nacional dos Bahá’i de Portugal”.

2200 [?], *Religiões Existentes em Portugal*, (Information: Caderno de Caça – Porque Aprender Nunca é Demais! E-Blog Grupo 122. Terça-Feira, 28 de Julho de 2009. Mira Sintra. Cacém. [Portugal]. <http://caderno122mirasintra.blogspot.com/>. Accessed on 14 January, 2014).

2201 Original text in Portuguese: “Antes da Revolução de 25 de Abril, os Bahá’ís estiveram sujeitos a vigilância policial, tendo diversas das suas atividades sido proibidas. Em 1975 a Comunidade Bahá’í de Portugal foi reconhecida como pessoa coletiva religiosa e em 2005 obteve o estatuto de comunidade religiosa radicada”.

2202 [?], *Religiões Existentes em Portugal*, Op. cit.

2203 Original text in Portuguese: “A Comunidade Hindu desenvolveu-se em Portugal a partir de 1975, como consequência da descolonização de Moçambique, englobando aproximadamente 9.000 membros e cerca 800 sócios efetivos, residentes nas áreas metropolitanas de Lisboa e Porto e, na sua maioria, oriundos de Moçambique e alguns do Estado de Gujarat pertencentes à Índia Portuguesa”.

2204 Krishna, Jay Shree, *Comunidade Hindu de Portugal: Historial*, (Information: Templo Hare Krishna. Lisboa. Portugal. <http://www.comunidadehindu.org/>. Accessed on 14 January, 2014).

2205 Ibid.

(c) The Buddhists' Community in Portugal (Comunidade Budista em Portugal)

The Buddhist presence in Portugal is as a consequence of the 1974 Revolution under the Portuguese Buddhist Union (União Budista Portuguesa)²²⁰⁶ and its president is “Dr Paulo Borges”.²²⁰⁷ According to their online portal,²²⁰⁸ apart from Lisbon, the Buddhist presence is in Porto, Faro, Figueira da Foz, Funchal (Madeira), Ponta Delgada (Azores), Évora, Coimbra, Pombal, and Leiria. Anecdotal evidence entitled *Budistas vão ter templo em Lisboa no próximo ano* published by *Jornal O Público* on 9 September, 2012 states that²²⁰⁹ “Buddhism has flourished in recent decades in Portugal and it is estimated that there are currently about fifteen thousand practitioners”,²²¹⁰ of Buddhism. The Portuguese Buddhist Union (União Budista Portuguesa) has been in existence for²²¹¹ “more than 30 years”.²²¹² In addition, a philosophical school of thought established in Portugal known as Gnosticism is referred to by the Portuguese society as a type of a religion.

(d) A philosophy of Gnosticism present in Portugal

The philosophy known as Gnosticism is mentioned by Eduardo Ramon Porteiro in an article entitled *Gnosis Portugal*,²²¹³

We are just a group of friends who have a common vision: We like to see life as an enigma, an Esoteric mystery (veiled) to be revealed. We are not here representing a Religious institution or entity. We decided to create this Blog in order to have a space for the Study of Gnosticism and Esotericism in Portuguese territory, in order to group students and curious people like us.²²¹⁴

2206 [?], *União Budista Portuguesa: Contactos*, (Information: União Budista Portuguesa, Lisboa. [Portugal].

<http://www.uniaobudista.pt/>. Accessed on 13 January, 2014).

2207 Ibid.

2208 Ibid.

2209 Original text in Portuguese: “Em Portugal, o budismo tem-se desenvolvido nas últimas décadas e estima-se que existam atualmente cerca de 15 mil praticantes”.

2210 [?], *Budistas vão ter templo em Lisboa no próximo ano*, (News report: P3 – Público. Edifício Diogo Cão, Lisboa. [Portugal].

<http://p3.publico.pt/>. Accessed on 14 January, 2014).

2211 Original text in Portuguese: “... mais de 30 anos”.

2212 [?], *Budistas vão ter templo em Lisboa no próximo ano*, Op. cit.

2213 Original text in Portuguese: “Somos apenas um grupo de amigos que tem uma visão em comum: Gostamos de ver a vida como um enigma, um mistério Esotérico (velado) a ser desvendado. Não estamos aqui representando nem uma instituição ou entidade Religiosa. Resolvemos criar este Blog com o intuito de ter um espaço destinado ao Estudo do Gnosticismo e do Esoterismo em território Português, com a finalidade de agrupar estudantes e curiosos como nós”.

2214 Porteiro, Eduardo Ramon, *Gnosis Portugal: Quem Somos?* (Information: Gnosis Portugal. <http://gnosisportugal.blogspot.com/>. Accessed on 14 January, 2014).

From the above quotation it is evident that since the 1974 Revolution even non religious bodies are being recognised in the country.

5.6 SUMMARY OF CHAPTER FIVE

Chapter five discussed the liberalizing modernization period from 1997 to 2009 and included the Constitutional revisions of 1997 and 2001. In addition, this chapter presented an examination of Portugal's position within the EU concerning religious freedom as well as how the EU deals with religion. The Portuguese integration into the EU as a member state was addressed as well as secularism, human rights, European legislation and European courts. A brief historical analysis of the Portuguese demographics within the framework of the re-evangelization and cultural reshaping of Europe was addressed, including the adoption of legislation pertaining to freedom of religion in Portugal. The promulgation of the *2001 Religious Freedom Act* was an important *Act* for the freedom of religion but it was only regulated in 2009. The changes that came about as a result of the 1974 Revolution were emphasised in this chapter with evidence to prove the proliferation of various religions in Portugal. The Roman Catholic religion lost its absolute power over the Portuguese society which now freely embraces other forms of religion. The *2004 Concordat* was scrutinised and attempted to demonstrate its incongruence to the spirit of the *2001 Religious Freedom Act*. The various social welfare institutions that emerged during the Twentieth Century were discussed. The overall proliferation of religious entities was examined and information regarding their presence in Portugal was provided as a result of the 1974 Revolution.

Chapter Five began with the study of how Portugal adopted the EU's position concerning religious freedom and human rights. The European tradition on how the EU countries dealt with religious entities was discussed as well as the increasing strength of secularism in European societies both in confessional as well as in Concordatory states. The official EU relations with religion were examined, including fundamental sources of EU legislation that were related to religious freedom and human rights. The EU mechanisms to deal with religious discrimination were studied as well as a brief historical analysis of Portuguese demographics within the framework of the re-evangelization and cultural reshaping of Europe. The impact of the *1997* and *2001 Constitutional Revisions* on religious freedom in Portugal was addressed which paved the way to the *2001 Religious Freedom Act* which was welcomed by non-Roman Catholic religious leaders and their

communities. However, the *2004 Concordat* negotiated and signed in secret between Portugal and the Vatican raised questions about the validity of the *2001 Religious Freedom Act*.

The Roman Catholic position in Portugal was compared with other religious entities because it was redefined by the *2004 Concordat* and it was found that there are areas which the Protestants/Evangelicals/Pentecostals and Charismatics view as discriminatory and a problem for religious freedom such as those related to the Military Ordinary (Ordinariato Castrense) which is the Roman Catholic Church's service for religious support to the Armed Forces. Another problems in Portugal related to religious freedom are religious public holidays as well as how the Roman Catholic Church's social welfare organizations are treated preferentially by the state in comparison with other religious entities of the same nature.

CONCLUSION

The main research question that this study attempted to answer is: “What was the impact of the 1974 Revolution on religious freedom in Portugal?” Chapter one set the scene and discussed the period prior to the 1974 Revolution. After the 1974 *coup d'état* and the subsequent Revolution it is evident that democracy was gaining ground and this was a step in the right direction, that is, towards freedom of religion. In answer to the question “Why should there have been a *coup d'état* and a subsequent Revolution in order to gain religious freedom?” Chapter One provided information on the oppression that citizens experienced from the rule of the dictatorial regime which did not permit individual rights and enforced traditionalist Roman Catholicism as the religion of the Portuguese nation. The Portuguese people were disenchanted with their conditions and lack of respect for their human rights and asserted themselves by defying the Roman Catholic based regime. While the Portuguese citizens were showing blatant disregard for the state and the colonial Empire the military were agitated by the unfair colonial wars which led to the 1974 *coup d'état* and subsequent decolonization. As a result the State had no alternative but to consider democracy which ultimately led to religious freedom.

Communism began to emerge quite strongly during the period of redefinition of the Portuguese regime from 1974 to 1976 which was discussed in Chapter Two. Subsequent to the 1974 Revolution the MFA granted free elections on 25 April, 1975 which resulted in a Constituent Assembly that was tasked to write a new *Constitution* for Portugal. Defying the electoral results and the Constituent Assembly the Communist Party tried to take over the country during the “Hot Summer” of 1975 but General Ramalho Eanes halted their intentions on 25 November, 1975 *coup d'état*. Consequently, the new *Constitution* was adopted in 1976. A discussion of the transitional phase for democratic normalization from 1976 to 1985 was covered in Chapter Three which included the motivation for the 1982 *Constitutional Revision* and Portugal's preparation to become a member state of the European Economic Community (EEC).

Chapters Four and Five attempted to explain why it took three decades for legislation to be adopted that recognized freedom of religion. The state did not want a repetition of the mistakes made concerning the Roman Catholic Church in the early twentieth century. The new democratic regime after the 1974 *coup d'état* required the collaboration of the Roman Catholic leadership to ensure the success of democracy in the transformation of

the Portuguese nation. The threat of Communism was so great that it was imperative for the above mentioned collaboration between the new democratic regime and the Roman Catholic Church.

To reiterate the aim of the study was to investigate the impact that the 1974 *coup d'état* and consequent Revolution had on religious freedom in Portugal. In order to achieve this aim copious literature was sourced although as mentioned earlier, there was a dearth of historical literature pertaining to this study. Oral history played a very important role in order to add credibility to the various discussions emanating from the historical sources consulted for this study. In addition, an analysis of the 1976 *Constitution* was conducted as well as all Constitutional revisions up to 2001, the 1933 *Constitution*, the 1940 *Concordat*, the 1971 *Religious Freedom Act*, the 2001 *Religious Freedom Act*, the 2004 *Concordat*, the EEC and EU *Treaties* and any relevant legislation pertaining to religious freedom were perused and analysed.

The period post 1974 to 2009 is a very significant historical period for the Portuguese nation because it gave rise to a new school of thought related to democracy and secularism which had its roots in the 1974 Revolution. It must be remembered, however, that had it not been for the 1974 Revolution perhaps Portugal would not have adopted democracy and consequently obtained religious freedom.

In order to understand the impact and changes as a result of the 1974 Revolution on state policy towards the Roman Catholic Church and its policy towards non-Roman Catholic religious groups Chapters One to Five clarify the progression towards new legislation adopted in the country making Portugal a democratic and secular state. Portuguese legislation on religious freedom was only taken into consideration in 1995 resulting in the 2001 *Religious Freedom Act*. This study attempted to argue how the 1974 Revolution continued to impact legislation, politics, religion and society over the period of time under scrutiny, which is from 1974 to 2009.

In addition, to answering the research questions this study endeavoured to provide evidence that the 1974 Revolution had an impact on religious freedom in Portugal. However, religious minorities in Portugal were sceptical of the State's intention as is evident in the discussions in Chapter Five. The reason for the scepticism among the religious minorities is that a *Concordat* known as the 2004 *Concordat* was negotiated and signed in between the Portuguese state and the Vatican in a clandestine manner. Once

again, this secrecy led non-Roman Catholics to mistrust the intentions of the State. Evidence of this mistrust may be found in Chapter Five. It was apparent that despite the progressive move towards democracy by the State with the promulgation of the *2001 Religious Freedom Act* the *2004 Concordat* defeats the object of religious freedom in Portugal, because it was negotiated and signed covertly. The secrecy of the *2004 Concordat* raised suspicion among non-Roman Catholic citizens, consequently causing doubts concerning the validity of the *2001 Religious Freedom Act*.

A discussion in support of the claim made in the hypothesis regarding the two reasons why the democratic state delayed the promulgation of the *2001 Religious Freedom Act* may be found in Chapter Five as well. An in-depth discussion regarding this historical issue was provided to clarify the actions of the democratic state concerning religious freedom.

Recommendations for future study

This study opens many avenues for future research; one is the subsequent historical period from 2009 onwards in Portuguese religious historiography because it is a period in which religious freedom became increasingly accepted as a norm. Very little research on freedom of religion has been conducted during the period 2009 to date specifically related to the impact of the *2001 Religious Freedom Act*. Another study that could be conducted is the reasons for the covert negotiations and signing of the *2004 Concordat*. An interesting period for future study could be the thirty six year delay in the promulgation of the *2001 Religious Freedom Act* as well as the reasons for the delay. A further recommendation for future study is the relationship of the Roman Catholic Bishops as well as their experiences of Salazar's rule during the period of the New State. The investigation into the role of the military in the establishment of democracy and secularism in Portugal is an additional area to be explored. Finally, the experiences of non-Roman Catholics in Portugal and how they related to democracy and secularism could be examined.

Benefits of this study

Having completed this study it is anticipated that it will illuminate significant areas pertaining to the impact of the 1974 Revolution on religious freedom in Portugal. For example, the transformation of the Portuguese society to become more tolerant of other religions, as well as the progressive secularization of the Portuguese state in respecting

human rights according to international law. In addition, it is hoped that the information in this study will contribute towards a profound understanding of the various events that took place during the period from 1974 to 2009. The explanations in this thesis have highlighted the specific roles played by key figures in the contribution towards religious freedom. In this historical narrative of the period from 1974 to 2009 my interpretation of relevant historical elements were based on the ideals of Christian ethics and human rights as contained in *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)*.

This study was the source of intense gratification and great contentment because as a non-Roman Catholic Portuguese citizen who experienced Salazar's despotic rule related to religion I was elated by the *2001 Religious Freedom Act*, the advent of democracy and the subsequent transformation was followed with keen interest. As a consequence of my passion for human rights and the history of Christianity, this investigation has contributed to a deeper understanding of the evolution of democracy and religious freedom in Portugal from 1974 to 2009.

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- Da Silva, F. C. 29/03/2011. *Interview 12 – with Rev Joaquim Luís Gonçalves Reis (1)*. Interview conducted at the cafeteria in the Monte Esperança Instituto Bíblico das Assembleias de Deus in Fanhões, Loures, Portugal.
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- Da Silva, F. C. 15/02/2014. *Interview 20 – with Rev Jorge Manuel da Costa Jacinto*. Interview conducted telephonically.
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Da Silva, F. C. 21/06/2014. *Interview 25 – with Mr. Alfredo Barroco Esperança*. Interview conducted via email received on 21 June, 2014 at 17:42 am.

1.2 Telephonic interviews

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APPENDIX 1

Reply to the request to interview Dr José Manuel Durão Barroso, President of the EU Commission and former Prime-minister of Portugal who signed the *2004 Concordat* at the Vatican on 18 May, 2004.



Ref. Ares(2014)2049232 - 23/06/2014

23. 06. 2014

Brussels,
BARROSO (2014) 1921210
BARROSO (2014)

Rev. Fernando CALDEIRA DA SILVA
Reitor
Universidade UMB

E-mail: fcdasilva@gmail.com

Dear Mr Caldeira da Silva,

The President of the European Commission, Mr José Manuel Barroso, asked me to thank you for your message of 12 June requesting an interview for your PhD thesis.

I am sorry to inform you that the President is unfortunately unable to give a positive answer to your request.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, which appears to read 'V. d'U. d'A.', is written over a horizontal line.

Viviane d'Udekem d'Acoz
Head of Unit

APPENDIX 2

News report clip taken from *A Capital*, 30 May, 1975 reporting that the Portuguese secret police of post 1974 coup d'état known as the COPCON was investigating the suspicion raised by the badge of the XI Pentecostal Youth Congress as depicting a counter revolutionary movement against the new regime established by the 1974 Revolution, (Courtesy by Rev Óscar Segura).

24 SEXTA-FEIRA, 30 DE MAIO DE 1975 A CAPITAL

COPCON está a investigar o fundamento de certas suspeitas levantas em torno de um cartaz afixado em vários pontos de cidade, cuja frase mais saliente, «Jesus vem», encina o anúncio do XI Congresso Juvenil Pentecostal. O congresso está a decorrer, desde ontem e até depois de amanhã, no Pavilhão dos Desportos de Lisboa, promovido pela Juventude da Assembleia de Deus.

— Efectivamente, diversas pessoas chamaram a nossa atenção para uma possível segunda intenção contida no grafismo do cartaz — disse-nos, esta manhã, um porta-voz do COPCON. «Mas, até este momento, não há quaisquer dados concretos que permitam tirar essa conclusão. De qualquer forma, é preciso mantermo-nos permanentemente alerta...»

Com efeito, segundo grande número de pessoas, os traços do rosto que domina o cartaz, em cores laranja e verde, encorriam uma possível «mensagem contra-revolucionária»: o perfil do nariz seria o contorno da costa portuguesa, no cabelo seria perceptível a localização de bases do E. L. P.

em Espanha, a alusão ao «dólmán» significaria características bélicas num contragolpe iminente e, enfim, a soma de alguns dos algarismos as datas indicariam o 10 de Junho como o dia previsto para a acção...

Contudo, no decorrer do funeral do pastor José Bastos, secretário-geral da Liga Evangélica a que pertence a Juventude da Assembleia de Deus, e que se realizou esta manhã para o cemitério do Lumiar, um dos fiéis esclareceu a sua opinião.

— Explicaram-me que o ros-

to é uma alusão a um jovem drogado e que tem por fim afastar a juventude da perdição — disse, apontando para o emblema da J. A. D., dominado pela figura do cartaz, em reduzido, nas cores vermelha, verde e preto.

Cerca de 400 fiéis, todos eles portadores de emblema na lapela, e entre os quais se viam alguns com autocollantes em que se lia «Jesus Vem» ou «God loves you» (Deus ama-te) concentraram-se junto ao viaduto do Campo Grande, seguindo depois a pé até ao cemitério do Lumiar, onde meditarão no decorrer do ritual religioso do funeral.

Saliente-se, no entanto, que a nota predominante nas alocuções proferidas durante o funeral, é a de que, estando aminente a segunda vinda de Jesus à Terra, a grande revolução é solidária. Que os jovens não tenham a opinião pública e se apressem a dar o «grande passo» para a salvação ao encontro de Jesus.

Recorde-se, apenas, que estes movimentos têm origem, normalmente, nos Estados Unidos da América, onde o espírito revivista tem estado por trás das mais diversas manifestações, desde filmes («Godspell»), a peças de teatro, a êxitos musicais, a artigos de consumo como camisetas (também presentes no funeral), entre outras.

CARTAZ DESPERTA SUSPEITAS DO COPCON

29 30 31

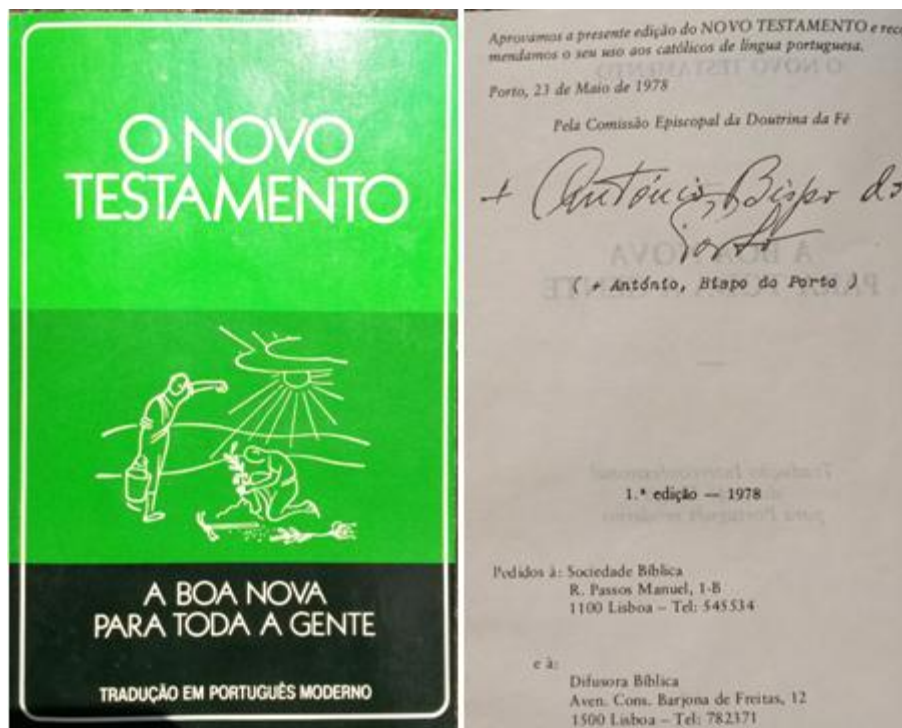
1

esperamos por ti!

Este o cartaz do Congresso da Juventude Pentecostal, cujo grafismo tem levantado suspeitas

APPENDIX 3

The pictures below depict the *New Testament* published in 1978, which was translated by a Commission composed of Roman Catholic and Evangelical theologians which was signed by Dom António Ferreira Gomes, the Bishop of the Roman Catholic Porto Diocese. Under the Bishop's signature the Portuguese text states that the requests of the book can be made either at the "Evangelical" Bible Society (Sociedade Bíblica) or at the "Roman Catholic" Bible Diffuser (Difusora Bíblica).



APPENDIX 4

CERTIFICATE OF TRANSLATOR

I, the undersigned, **MARIA DEOMÉLIA DE ALMEIDA DA SILVA**, Identity Number 550923 0215 084, Sworn Translator duly admitted by the High Court of South Africa (Provincial Division of Transvaal) on the 15th day of January 2002 under Case Number 246/2002, residing in the City of Pretoria, in the Province of Gauteng, do hereby certify and attest, unto all whom it may concern, that I corrected and edited the attached PhD Thesis of Fernando Caldeira da Silva, which is to the best of my knowledge and belief, a true and correct translation of the original Portuguese language document issued to me.

In faith and testimony whereof I, the Sworn Translator, have hereunto subscribed my name, at Pretoria, Province of Gauteng, Republic of South Africa, on the 19th September 2015.

MARIA DEOMÉLIA DE ALMEIDA DA SILVA

SWORN TRANSLATOR